The Forum.

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INDIA'S ACTION AND THE SHERMAN LAW.

THE "Political Science Quarterly" for June has an article on the Brussels Monetary Conference by E. Benjamin Andrews, President of Brown University, who was a member of the Conference. Near the close of this article Mr. Andrews quotes some remarks made by Baron di Renzis of Italy on the resolution of adjournment. The Baron said:

> "From all sides in this assembly—and the fact is apparent in every speech which has been made, whether the speaker stated it openly or merely alluded to it—eyes were turned toward England. It is perceived and recognized that England has to fill a preponderant *rôle* upon this question. All the world is waiting to see that great country set the goodly example for which we hope. The speeches of many delegates have appeared almost like reproductions of an historic phrase. In this struggle for the rehabilitation of silver everybody in fact has seemed to be saying: '*Messieurs les Anglais, tirez les premiers.*'"

To which Mr. Andrews adds: "Will the British, thus invoked, 'be the first to fire'? Will they fire at all? None can say. What is certain is that they ought to, and that a conviction to this effect is entertained more and more widely in England itself."

A few days after Mr. Andrews's article was printed the British "fired," but not in the way that the Baron and his fellow delegate expected. The Indian Government with the approval of the British Cabinet closed its mint to silver, and silver immediately fell ten to fifteen points in the market, but has since recovered a portion of this decline.

The effect of this action, according to the prevailing bimetallist belief, ought to have been a dreadful panic beginning in India and extending to England (or *vice versâ*) and gradually enveloping the

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whole world, civilized and uncivilized. The actual effect has been somewhat different. The price of public securities rose in Calcutta and Bombay, business took a more cheerful tone there, and the English newspapers expressed the hope that the people of the United States would now desist from the folly of squandering their resources on a discarded metal!

During all the years that the silver question has been under debate the effect upon England of any heavy decline in silver has been quite terrifying among the bimetallist group. There was nothing so heavily charged with disaster, except perhaps the "naming of a man" in the House of Commons. But there is this difference between the two, that after a man was named in the House of Commons and nothing happened, the victims of that delusion were cured, whereas the others are as badly scared as before. They merely postpone the day of judgment, as the Millerites did. They tell us now that England's *dies iræ* will come when the United States stop buying silver. Then her people will be compelled to *tirer les premiers*. Then she will come to her senses. Then she will be the first to call an international conference and propose bimetallism. She is sick now but she will be a great deal sicker then, and will be ready to take the medicine that we have been offering her and that she has refused all these years. It is of no consequence that England says she is well and has been well all the time. We know better than that!

I have read much on the subject of England's secret silver-pangs during the past twenty years but have never seen any explanation of them. I have supposed that silver-pangs would come to those who had silver, not to those who had none; just as colic comes to the children who have eaten green apples, not to those who have abstained. When this view has been presented to our bimetallist friends, they have said that England's grief comes through her trade with India and that when silver gets low enough she will howl with anguish. I had a conversation with a distinguished bimetallist in Chicago on June 25. (The news of India's action came on the 26th.) He pictured for me the paralysis that would come upon British trade and commerce if silver should fall much lower than it was at that time—its price being then 38d per ounce. I asked him kindly to name a price at which these disasters would overtake perfidious Albion, but he firmly refused to do so. I asked him to name an approximate price but he declined to do that. He would only commit himself to the opinion that England could not stand much more of it—how

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much more he would not say. My bimetallist friend had mistaken a film in his own eye for a distant mountain. He did not remember the fact that there were much greater fluctuations in New York exchange during our greenback era than there have been in Calcutta exchange at any time. Yet British trade was not specially harmed thereby.

It was shown during the silver investigation of 1887 that British merchants settled their transactions with India by telegraph, fixing the rate of exchange at the time when the transaction was made; that this was customary, and that if any merchant neglected to do so it was his own fault. In other words, the losses to English trade by reason of the fluctuations in silver were mostly, if not wholly, imaginary.

We were told beforehand that India *could not* demonetize silver and some of our bimetallist friends adhere to this opinion. I am not at all surprised at this, when I recall the fact that very high authorities among the silver-men affirm that France is still a bimetallic country. I attended a public debate last autumn in which the Secretary of the National Bimetallic League spoke of "bimetallic France," meaning the France of to-day. I presume that he is entirely honest in the belief that France is a bimetallic country, as others are in the belief that India cannot demonetize silver although she has actually done so.

What is it to demonetize silver? Simply to stop coining that metal for private persons. This is the way that France and the Latin Union countries demonetized it in 1876. It was thus that Holland demonetized it in 1875. It was thus that England demonetized it in 1798. Germany did something more. She collected together and melted a large part of her silver coins and substituted gold coins for them and sold the resulting silver bullion. Whether this was a necessary step or not it was a great convenience, since up to that time Germany had had no uniformity of coinage, either silver or gold.

Now it is evident that India can stop coining silver, as other countries have done. She can, if need be, coin silver on government account, but unless the Indian mint is open to all the silver in the world that metal is demonetized. The coining of a greater or less number of rupees on government account will not change the fact any more than the coining of silver marks in Germany or of shillings in England changes the fact of demonetization in those countries.

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The Indian government will certainly reserve to itself the power to meet in this way any exigencies that may arise. It may even make a profit by doing so, as our government makes a profit on its subsidiary coins.

It would be rash for anybody to predict the future course of events in India. We may be pretty sure, however, that the men who have directed it and who are responsible for its consequences have not acted without careful circumspection. If they are censurable at all it is for too great delay rather than for undue haste. But before anybody censures them for too great delay let him put himself in their place. Let him charge himself with the destinies and fortunes of two hundred and fifty millions of people, for the most part very poor and too ignorant to know what is good or bad for them in a financial way. In this last particular they are not alone among the nations of the earth, but the peculiarity in India is that a handful of men have to decide the most important questions without much, if any, aid from public opinion, and without ever referring them to the hustings. When it comes to questions of high finance this may be an advantage to the governed, but it adds enormously to the responsibilities of the governors and will surely give them pause when such a momentous step is to be taken as a change in the monetary standard.

It is a mistake to suppose that the government of India will be obliged to accumulate a large quantity of gold. This is not a case of a government having a great mass of irredeemable paper afloat and trying to resume specie payments. As far as the actual possession of gold goes India is abundantly supplied with that metal now, perhaps over-supplied. The net imports of gold into India from 1855 to 1882 inclusive were $505,000,000.

We hear that the Indian Government intends to guarantee the rate of exchange between the rupee and the pound sterling, which means that with silver demonetized—*i.e.*, no more of it coming to the mint—the rupees already in existence shall not be depreciated below sixteen pence sterling. Obviously this is not a necessary part of the transaction. In fact it was no part of the project originally forwarded by the Indian Government to London. It was added by the Herschell Commission as a suggestion. Naturally, a suggestion from that quarter would be taken as a command. The Government may, or may not, be able to make good that guarantee. Failure to make it good would not imply failure of the general plan—that is,

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it would not reopen the mint to silver. On this point the Indian authorities say that no possible evils consequent upon demonetization can be so great as those which they have suffered from the fluctuations and the decline of silver during recent years. Hence a failure to maintain the value of the rupee at sixteen pence sterling would not involve any backward step.

Another dreadful prediction is that Europe will now have to send a great deal of gold to India on trade balance. It is a sufficient answer to say that Europe will not send any more gold for this purpose than she can spare, or any more broomsticks or fiddlesticks.

Great as is the value to India of this change in her monetary system, its greatest value lies in the fact that it puts an end to all silver delusions and bimetallic delusions in all parts of the world. There is, of course, a great deal of sputtering for the time being, especially among those politicians whose sole capital for many years has been "free coinage," and who now see bankruptcy staring them in the face. The action of India is for them like the tolling of a great bell. Events will not wait. The waters of oblivion will pass over them and also over a great many false prophets outside of Congress and the House of Commons. A sample of this kind of prophecy is that uttered by M. Alfred de Rothschild predicting a general panic in the commercial world if the Brussels Conference should adjourn without doing something to sustain the price of silver. A few years hence people will speak of the silver craze as they now speak of the Dutch tulip mania of 1634.

The papers laid before Parliament touching the action of India tell us that the authorities of that country could not delay action longer because of the uncertainty of the future action of the United States respecting silver. They apprehended that Congress would repeal the Sherman law before many months. They knew that that law could not last forever. Their sufferings had already been intense by reason of the decline of silver, and they could not take the risk of a still further and larger decline consequent upon the United States discontinuing its purchases. So it would appear that silver in America and silver in India have mutually effaced each other.

The Sherman law, which is thus linked with the action of India and which is probably disabled by it, is the successor of the Allison law (incorrectly called the Bland law), of 1878. The latter measure was offered by Senator Allison as a substitute for the Bland free coinage bill and was adopted first in the Senate and subsequently in

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the House. It was vetoed by President Hayes and passed over the veto and became a law on February 28, 1878. It provided that the Government should buy not less than two million dollars' worth and not more than four million dollars' worth of silver bullion each month and coin it into standard silver dollars, these to be full legal tender money. Of course the resulting coins would belong to the Government and they might be used to pay any claims against the Government and also to pay for the subsequent purchases of silver bullion. The Government would also receive them for all dues to itself. Any holder of silver dollars could receive silver certificates in exchange for them by applying to the Treasury.

After this law had been in operation about twelve years, and some three hundred million dollars had been coined, the silver men gradually became aware that money was not a whit more plentiful by reason of the silver law. They did not perceive that each silver dollar had shouldered a gold dollar out of its place. They concluded that the reason why money was not more plentiful was that the operation of the Allison law had not been sufficiently rapid. The several Secretaries of the Treasury, both Republican and Democratic, had elected to purchase only the minimum amount of silver, *i.e.*, $2,000,000 worth a month. So the silver men set out to promote a more speedy and wholesale transmutation of bullion into dollars. It happened at this juncture that the Republicans in Congress were intent upon passing what was commonly called a Force bill, a measure very obnoxious to the South, which measure actually passed the House. It is a part of the history of the Fifty-first Congress that the free silver Senators of Nevada and Colorado, all of whom were Republicans, cooperated with the Southern Senators to defeat the Force bill. So much is known. It is believed that they stipulated for a sufficient number of votes to pass a silver free coinage bill in return. This, however, is only conjecture. All that we know is that the free coinage bill did receive a majority of votes in the Senate on June 17, 1890, and that the Force bill was defeated in that body by a majority of one in the following January. The free coinage bill was defeated in the House on June 25.

Committees of Conference were appointed by the two houses who reported the so-called Sherman law which is now in force. This provides that the Secretary of the Treasury shall buy 4,500,000 ounces of silver bullion each month at the market value thereof and pay for the same with Treasury notes, and "that upon demand of the holder

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of any of the Treasury notes herein provided for the Secretary of the Treasury shall, under such regulations as he may prescribe, redeem such notes in gold or silver coin at his discretion, it being the established policy of the United States to maintain the two metals on a parity with each other upon the present legal ratio or such ratio as may be provided by law."

The upshot is that the Secretary is to buy a certain amount of silver bullion, give his notes for the same to-day and redeem the notes in gold to-morrow, or whenever any holder presents them, the amount so bought to be not less than 54,000,000 ounces a year. The amount of silver to be bought under the Sherman law was almost double the amount under the Allison law, but in return for this concession the provision contained in the last clause was secured. This purports merely to declare what the policy of the Government is and has heretofore been, *i.e.*, to keep the gold dollar and the silver dollar at par with each other; but in reality it established that policy for the first time in our history. It is not strictly a command laid upon the Secretary of the Treasury, but it is a guide-post which he cannot safely disregard. So long as he has the means in his hands he must pay gold dollars for all sorts of Treasury issues. The Senators representing the silver-producing States could not have been ignorant of the far-reaching consequences of this provision. They must have known that it would prevent the country from falling to the silver standard as long as the Government had the means in hand to pay gold for everything afloat. But they really believed—at all events Senator Jones, of Nevada, believed—that the purchase by the Government of so large a sum as 54,000,000 ounces a year would cause the price of silver to advance so that the dollar of that metal would be equal in market value to the gold dollar—an expectation which was fatally disappointed.

Would the Government be able to pay gold for everything afloat? This became a weighty question in the circles of high finance at home and abroad. The Sherman bill came simultaneously, or nearly so, with two other measures of great importance. One was the Dependent Pension law and the other the McKinley tariff bill which repealed the duties on sugar. The former, it was calculated, would add fifty millions, if not more, annually to the public disbursements while the latter would take fifty millions from the public receipts. The purchases of silver bullion would also call for fifty millions at the price of silver, or twenty-five millions more than the Allison bill

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called for. It was an undetermined problem how many of the Treasury notes issued to pay for the silver would stay out and how many would come back for redemption. In the three measures taken together was a difference in the Government's balance-sheet of $125,000,000 to the bad, perhaps more. The word was passed around that the country was in sight of a deficit. Even so conservative a statesman as Senator Edmunds, of Vermont, believed this and said so in public debate.

Now a deficit is not such a dreadful thing, taken by itself. With most of the Governments of Europe deficits are of frequent occurrence. But our case was different from theirs in this particular, that a deficit with us meant inability to maintain gold payments, and that meant a change in the standard of value with all the horrors implied by the calling in of loans, the hoarding of gold, and running to cover by all who were in condition to run. Europe saw all this with even more distinctness than ourselves. There are no data available to tell us how far European investments in this country were withdrawn in consequence of the belief that we were destined to the silver basis, but it is the belief of those best informed that the movement of capital to our shores was checked pretty soon after the passage of this law, and that it gradually came to a full pause, or to a stage where more was called home than was sent hither. If the object of the Sherman law was to make money more plentiful it has not been strikingly successful in that particular. The addition that it has made to the circulation in Treasury notes to July 1, 1893, is $140,661,694, while our net export of gold during the same time has been $141,017,158. There is a remarkable coincidence in these figures, but I am not disposed to affirm that the one movement has been caused by the other. It may be so but there are no data by which it can be proved.

What may be affirmed with positiveness is that our present scarcity of money would certainly be relieved by the surplus of Europe but for the silver scare. For the first time within my recollection has it happened that the offer of high rates of interest in this country has not proved an attraction to foreign capital. The reason why it has not must be that it is coupled, in the minds of foreigners, with some danger of loss of the principal.

The repeal of the Sherman law will remove that danger and nothing else will.

HORACE WHITE.

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THE DOOM OF SILVER.

THE closing of the mints of British India to the coinage of silver coins of full-debt-paying power is the most momentous event in the monetary history of the present century. It is the final and disastrous blow to the use of silver as a measure of value and as money of full-debt-paying power, and the relegation of it to the position of a subsidiary, or token metal. It is the culmination of the evolution from a silver to a gold standard which has been progressing with startling rapidity in recent years. For the last quarter of a century, civilized countries have combined to dethrone silver as a precious metal, and have declared in unmistakable terms that, by reason of its cumbersomeness, the enormous quantity produced and the violent fluctuations in its value, silver is not fit to serve as a measure of the values of all other things; that hereafter gold alone shall be the standard of value, and that the business of the world is to be done with gold money and an enlarged use of instruments of credit, such as bank-notes, checks, drafts, settlements by transfer, by telegraph and by clearing-house, which nineteenth-century civilization has provided as substitutes for actual money.

This modern preference of gold for silver manifested itself first and most strongly among people of the highest civilization and of the largest commercial pursuits. The reason for it will be found in the immense expansion of modern commerce requiring very large payments in the settlement of balances and necessitating the use of that metal containing the greatest value in the least bulk, thus making gold the money of commerce; and in the wonderful improvements and developments in modern banking, providing substitutes for money, and avoiding as far as possible the actual handling of cash.

The remarkable series of events which have characterized, or made manifest, this evolution from a silver to a gold standard are nearly all condensed in the brief period of twenty years, and are probably without a parallel in ancient or modern monetary history. In 1816 England legally adopted the gold standard, for the rea-

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son, as stated in the Act of Parliament, that "*great inconvenience* has arisen from both those precious metals being concurrently the standard measure of value and equivalent for property." With the single exception of England, all Europe forty years ago had the silver standard, not only legally but actually—silver coins constituting the great bulk of the money of actual transactions. To-day, not a mint in Europe is open to the coinage of full-debt-paying silver coins, and the gateways of the Orient have been closed against it. Twenty years ago one ounce of gold exchanged in the markets of the world for fifteen and one-half ounces of silver; to-day, one ounce of gold will buy nearly thirty ounces of silver.

A brief review of the world's transition from the silver to the gold standard will be instructive.

In 1871–73, after the close of the Franco-Prussian War, Germany found it necessary to organize a new monetary system for the new German Empire, in place of the various systems of coins in existence in the States thereafter to compose it. In this reorganization the gold standard was adopted, replacing the silver standard which for very many years had been in existence in all the German States; new Imperial silver coins were provided for, but of limited tender, to serve the purposes of change-money only, and the silver coins which constituted the bulk of the circulating medium of the States comprising the new Empire were demonetized. All the silver coins which had been previously issued and received in the several German States were called in. The value of the silver coins demonetized by Germany was 1,081,742,800 marks ($257,454,000). In order to procure the necessary gold for coinage purposes, Germany was forced to sell from time to time large quantities of silver from its store of melted coins, including the amount received after the close of the war with France in payment of indemnity. The total amount of silver thus sold was 89,695,728 fine ounces, at a loss of 96,481,000 marks ($23,000,000). This great European power, the first to take the lead in this modern evolution from silver to gold money, voluntarily incurred this heavy loss, nearly ten per cent on its enormous stock of silver coins, all of which were in circulation as money, as the cost of placing itself on a sound monetary basis.

In 1874, the States comprising the Latin Union (France, Italy, Belgium, Switzerland and Greece), decided to limit the coinage of 5-franc silver pieces (the only silver coins of full-debt-paying power), and after further limitations in subsequent years, these States in

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1878 closed their mints to the coinage of full-legal-tender silver coins, since which time silver coinage has not been resumed. By this action the States of the Latin Union practically adopted the gold standard. The action of Germany in demonetizing silver was also followed promptly by the Scandinavian countries, Norway, Sweden and Denmark. In December, 1872, these States entered into a monetary treaty adopting gold as the sole standard of value and making silver subsidiary, to be coined only for change purposes. In 1875, Holland, which had been on a silver basis since 1847, closed its mint to the coinage of silver, thus practically adopting the gold standard. In April, 1884, an act was passed authorizing the sale of twenty-five million florins of silver coins, whenever the state of the currency demanded it; but it has not been found necessary to make the sale.

By the law of September 9, 1876, Russia prohibited the coinage of silver, except such as was necessary for the Chinese trade. In 1879, Austria-Hungary, where the silver standard had prevailed since 1857, closed her mints to the coinage of silver for individuals, and more recently that Empire has legally adopted the single gold standard, using silver for subsidiary or token coins. In March, 1890, Roumania adopted the gold standard, the law requiring the replacement of forty million francs of the 5-lei silver currency with gold coins. About twenty-five million francs in silver were withdrawn from circulation and sold as bullion at a heavy loss.

Thus we see how, one after another, the European countries have placed themselves on the gold standard, outlawed silver from their mints, many of them actually melting down and selling their silver coins at a considerable loss in their efforts to place their currency systems on a safe basis.

In the United States, gold was practically made the standard of value in 1834, and from that date to 1878 gold constituted our only metallic currency. In 1873, Congress abolished the silver dollar, a practically obsolete coin, only eight millions of which had been coined since the foundation of the Government, and gold was legally declared the sole standard of value. At the beginning of the year 1878, when the United States entered upon the disastrous policy of silver purchases and coinage, we find that the movement of civilization from the silver to the gold standard had progressed to this extent, *viz.*, the mints of all the great commercial countries of the world were closed to the coinage of silver coins of full-debt-paying

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power and gold was the recognized measure of values throughout the civilized world. Only India, Mexico, Japan and a few South American countries coined silver. The silver coinage of Mexico cut no figure in the world's annual addition of metallic money, for the reason that the great bulk of the silver pesos struck at the Mexican mints went fresh from the coining-presses into the melting-pots of other countries, having no greater value in commerce than the amount of pure silver bullion they contained, and what few remained annually in the shape of Mexican coins were absorbed in Asia. So too with the silver coins of South American countries; they possessed in commerce only a bullion value, and were melted as fast as they found their way within the boundaries of other countries; while the silver coinage of remote Japan served only the purpose of embarrassing the domestic circulation of that country.

In 1878, the United States, just on the threshold of specie resumption, without any silver money, with all its currency based on gold, its stock of gold increasing rapidly and enormously and with ample authority of law to secure all the gold necessary for resumption purposes, took the first backward step in the progress of civilized countries from a silver to a gold standard, and remonetized the silver dollar, which was practically demonetized in 1834 and legally in 1873. At the same time was inaugurated the financial policy of buying silver with gold for currency purposes, for twelve and one-half years, to the extent of monthly purchases and coinage into legal dollars of two million dollars' worth of silver, and since August, 1890, by the monthly purchase with legal tender notes redeemable in gold of four and one-half million ounces of silver. This policy has resulted in the accumulation of 448,000,000 ounces of silver, costing $445,000,000, and the coinage and injection into our monetary system of over 419,000,000 silver dollars, worth intrinsically about half their face value, effecting a complete change from a gold to a silver currency and threatening with disaster the business interests of our country.

At the period this policy was begun, 1878, India alone was the great absorber of silver,—the silver sink of the world,—where all the surplus silver discarded by Europe gravitated as naturally as the waters flow to the sea. This vast Empire, with a population of more than two hundred and fifty million souls, mostly very poor and very ignorant, exchanged its raw products for silver bullion, which was coined into small silver coins, the largest the rupee, of the former value

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of about forty-eight cents (now about thirty), which coins answered the barbaric demand for ornaments and served as a medium of exchange among a people of small transactions without banks and civilized methods of effecting exchanges throughout most of the vast territory.

There is a general impression that silver has been the money of India from remote generations. This is a fallacy. It has not been a great many years since India adopted the silver standard. The ancient money of the Hindoos was gold, which in 1818 was supplemented by silver, but gold coins remained legal tender until 1835, when silver was made the sole standard of value and legal tender money in British India, and gold was demonetized. Although large quantities of gold have been imported into India since 1835, the importations of gold for the eight fiscal years ending with 1870 amounting to nearly $250,000,000, nevertheless gold is not a legal tender in that Empire and gold coins do not circulate.

During the last fifty odd years, India has absorbed vast quantities of silver. From 1863 to 1892,—a period of only thirty years,—the imports of silver to India aggregated over £225,000,000, or about $1,100,000,000. The enormous and apparently unlimited power of India to absorb silver, where it was promptly converted into coin, becoming actual money, not re-exported or recoined, has undoubtedly saved silver from a very much greater depreciation than has taken place in its value in recent years. The "advantages" of a silver currency in India in maintaining the general level of prices, in affording a bounty to the export of Indian products, and in working a corresponding disadvantage to the American farmer, lowering the price of his wheat by bringing it into competition with Indian wheat in Liverpool, have been the familiar stock arguments of the free-silver-coinage advocates in the United States. And yet all the while the ears of Parliament have been filled by India's cry for relief from the burdens growing out of a depreciated currency, which has rendered necessary additional taxation amounting last year to eighty-seven millions of rupees to cover India's loss on exchange in paying its European obligations in gold (making it impossible, by reason of the fluctuations in the value of the rupee, to estimate the annual expenditure with any degree of accuracy), and has reduced legitimate commercial trade to a mere speculation;—and two Royal Commissions have been appointed to consider the grave evils and inconveniences resulting to British India from the depreciation of the gold price in silver.

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The Committee appointed last October to consider and advise whether it was expedient to modify the Indian currency, was composed of Lord Chancellor Herschell, Mr. Leonard H. Courtney, Sir Thomas Farrer, Sir Reginald Welby, Mr. Arthur Godley, Lieutenant-General Strachey and Mr. B. W. Currie. The first three named had been members of the Royal Commission appointed in 1887 to inquire into the recent changes in the relative values of the Precious Metals, while the last two were delegates to the International Monetary Conference at Brussels from British India and Great Britain respectively. The question referred to the Committee was "whether, having regard to the grave difficulties with which the Government of India are confronted through the heavy fall in the gold value of silver, it is expedient that Her Majesty's Government should allow them to carry into effect the proposals which they had made for stopping the free coinage of silver in India, with a view to the introduction of a gold standard."

In a despatch of June 2, 1892, the Indian authorities expressed their deliberate opinion that "if it became clear that the Brussels Conference was unlikely to arrive at a satisfactory conclusion, and if a direct agreement between India and the United States was found to be unattainable, the Government of India should at once close their mints to the free coinage of silver, and make arrangements for the introduction of a gold standard." The Government of India forwarded at the same time a memorandum prepared by Sir David Barbour outlining the method proposed for the introduction of the gold standard into India. The sessions of the Committee were suspended during the Brussels Conference; but when that body adjourned without reaching any satisfactory plan for the solution of the silver problem, they were immediately resumed.

The proposals which have received the serious consideration of this distinguished Committee group themselves in four classes: (1) Closing the Indian mints to the coinage of silver on private accounts, with or without authority for the Government to continue coinage; (2) the establishment of the gold standard, with or without a gold currency; (3) the imposition of a large seigniorage on silver coinage; (4) the imposition of a duty on silver imported.

The Committee, in their report dated May 31, 1893, state their conclusions as follows—

"While conscious of the gravity of the suggestion, we cannot, in view of the serious evils with which the Government of India may at any time be con-

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fronted if matters are left as they are, advise your Lordship to overrule the proposals for the closing of the mints and the adoption of a gold standard, which that Government, with their responsibility and deep interest in the success of the measure suggested, have submitted to you. But we consider that the following modifications of these proposals are advisable. The closing of the mints against the free coinage of silver should be accompanied by an announcement that, though closed to the public they will be used by the Government for the coinage of rupees in exchange for gold at a ratio to be then fixed, say 1s. 4d. per rupee; and that at the Government Treasuries gold will be received in satisfaction of public dues at the same ratio."

As is shown by the recent action of the Indian Government, the recommendations of the Committee have been carried into practical effect by closing the Indian mints to silver coinage, without indicating the intention as to coinage on Government account, and by fixing a permanent rate of exchange with India of sixteen pence for the rupee which nearly corresponds with the commercial gold value of the pure silver in that coin at the date of the order.

This action of the Anglo-Indian Government, while decisive and important, was not wholly unexpected, but had been predicted by many of the most distinguished economists of Europe, both bimetallists and gold-monometallists. As long ago as August, 1875, the Director of the Bombay mint, Mr. L. E. Hynes, published an article in the "Bombay Gazette," showing that the adoption of the gold standard in India was an imperative necessity, and saying—

"Silver may remain in use as small change to supplement the gold, but the public must not be allowed to coin it; so that the importation of that metal will cease, and gold alone will be used to liquidate the balance which is generally due from Europe to the East."

In March, 1876, Mr. Van Den Berg, President of the Netherlands Bank, a distinguished, able and enthusiastic bimetallist, in a letter to M. Victor Brunel, of Paris, in reply to M. Brunel's argument that the gold standard is in no way suited to the countries of the far East, pointed out that

"the East could not withdraw from the general economic laws which govern the currency in the civilized countries of Europe; that there, as here, the nature of things is opposed to the maintenance, as a measure of value, of a metal subject to continued and violent fluctuations in value; and that the East would find itself compelled to follow the general movement towards gold in order to escape from profound disturbances in its internal economic situation and in its commercial and financial relations with foreign countries."

In July, 1892, Sir David Barbour, Finance Minister to the Indian Government and a distinguished bimetallist, wrote in a letter to Sir William Huldsworth—

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"I have no hesitation in saying that a common standard of value for England and India is absolutely essential for the well-being of this country [India]."

Sir David thought that the best method of attaining that result was international bimetallism. General Strachey, a member of the Herschell Committee and delegate from British India to the Brussels Conference, said in that body—

"India, I need hardly remind you, is, with the exception, I think, of Mexico, the one country in the world the mints of which have, till the present moment, continued open for the coinage of silver without limitation. . . . It has been the victim of the simultaneous, almost incessant, downward fluctuations of the exchange value of the rupee, which have arisen, not from those variations of trade between different countries which are unavoidable and of relatively small extent, but almost wholly from the alterations in the intrinsic value of the coin itself in relation to gold. The Government of India during this period has made many ineffectual attempts to protect itself against the effects on its currency of this continued fall in the value of silver in relation to gold, and notwithstanding the heavy burdens thereby entailed upon the country, has maintained the silver standard in the hope that circumstances might at length bring in some relief from the ever increasing difficulties of its position. But no such relief has come, and, on the contrary, the difficulties have become constantly greater, until they are becoming, if they have not already become, real dangers. . . . Among the remedies proposed and strongly advocated by many influential persons and authorities is the adoption by India of a gold standard and the suspension of the free coining of silver at the Indian mints."

The action of the Indian Government in closing the mints to the coinage of silver, rendered necessary by the depreciation of its silver currency, is the first step towards the establishment of the gold standard in that Empire. It is not a temporary measure nor one adopted hastily, but a permanent policy, recommended in the first instance by the Indian Government and carefully considered and reported on before final adoption by a committee of distinguished and conservative men familiar with the needs of India, who weighed carefully all the possible and probable results. As was officially announced by the Secretary of State for India in his despatch to the Viceroy, it is the intention to "make arrangements for the adoption of a gold standard." It is useless and worse than silly to attempt to minimize the effects of this action on the future of silver by statements upon the part of silver advocates as to the impossibility of carrying out the policy adopted for India, or by holding out hope of continued purchases and coinage of silver by the Indian Government. The fact remains that the gold standard is to be established in British India, and the closing of the mints to silver coinage was the initiatory and necessary step in carrying out that policy.

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This action upon the part of British India leaves the United States (unless we include Mexico, although, as is well known, Mexican silver coinage cuts no figure in the case) the only country in the world which continues to purchase and coin silver into legal-tender money.

This policy has already resulted in changing our currency from gold to silver and has created widespread distrust of our ability to maintain the gold standard. It is not possible, now that barbaric India, our great silver ally, has pulled down her silver idol and taken steps to conform her monetary system to that of the civilized world, that the United States will continue to act in monetary isolation, in defiance of the rest of the world, and still further imperil its magnificent prosperity and credit by paying gold for a discarded, a depreciated and a depreciating metal. It must be remembered that whatever importance there may be in the use of money as a medium of exchange, its greatest value is as a measure of values, and that in this respect the United States has not departed since 1834 from the gold standard. Gold is still the sole standard of value in the United States, both legally and actually, and the determination and ability of the United States to maintain all its money at a parity with gold is still unabated.

While the road back to safe financial principles may be rough and stony, it is still open, and the sooner we enter upon it the surer will be our relief from the present distressing and threatening business difficulties.

EDWARD OWEN LEECH.

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DANGER IN HASTY TARIFF REVISION.

In all that has been lately said or published in reference to proposed tariff legislation, very little if anything has been said by merchants or manufacturers, who surely are more interested in the tariff, because their affairs will be more directly affected by any proposed changes, than any other class of our citizens. While there may be a small number both of merchants and of manufacturers who could stand large losses, such as would necessarily follow a violent change in our tariff laws by any hastily devised measure which might be forced through Congress for political purposes, a great many business men would be seriously crippled, perhaps totally wrecked. Such a result surely is not desired by either political party, for such a disaster would seriously damage any party.

It is a mistake to suppose that all manufacturers are Republicans and desire to maintain the present tariff. There are as many Democratic manufacturers to-day as Republican—perhaps more; and they earnestly desire a fair revision of our tariff laws. But they are opposed to any measure hastily devised and pushed through at one session of Congress, as some previous tariff laws have been. The people have had enough of these hastily made tariffs, and there is no good reason now why there should be undue haste. Any change will create new conditions, and new conditions ought to be better conditions.

Our customs duties are excessive in some cases and they are unfair in others; but, after all, our industries and resources have been developed marvellously notwithstanding the fact that we have borne these objectionable duties for the last thirty years or more. Under these conditions it is better to go slowly and to give the people an opportunity to prepare for a change, and, by devising a conservative new tariff, to inspire the country with confidence. This will be better than the uncertain feeling that has been spread throughout the land by the utterances of radicals who would like to demolish the existing industrial status at one blow. If it were not for the unalterable and abiding faith the people have in the President and

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his well-known conservative views on all important matters, these hot-headed partisans and "reformers" might easily succeed in paralyzing the business of the country.

For my part, I am not opposed to tariff reform, and I do not desire to stay its progress. In fact I have for many years constantly worked for an equitable and fair tariff. Long before the present tariff-reform clubs were organized, I was one of the promoters of the so-called Manufacturers' Tariff Reform League (I believe in 1880 or 1881) along with Mr. J. Schoenhof, Mr. A. Augustus Healy, Mr. J. M. Constable, the late Mr. Gustav Schwab, of New York, and Mr. J. B. Sargent, of New Haven. Most of the members were manufacturers, and it was no easy task to draw them into the ranks. But by persistent work we soon had a formidable list of many hundreds of prominent manufacturers, mostly from the New England States, New York, and New Jersey. In the Spring of 1884, a special committee was appointed consisting of Mr. Sargent, Mr. Constable, Mr. Schoenhof, Mr. Healy, Mr. Schwab and myself, to formulate a plan and go to Chicago to cooperate with the delegates to the National Democratic Convention and to advocate the adoption of a tariff which should place the Democratic party squarely on a tariff-reform platform. The platform that was drawn by Mr. Schoenhof and myself and endorsed by the Committee was as follows—

"First—The abolition of all duties on raw-materials, such as wool, iron, and other ores, coal, jute, hemp, flax, dye-stuffs and so forth, in order that we may compete in home and foreign markets with other manufacturing nations, not one of which taxes raw-materials.

"Second—The adjustment of the tariff, so that manufactures approaching nearest the crude state will pay the lower rate, and manufactures that have further advanced, requiring more skill and labor, will pay the higher rate of duties."

The Committee appointed Mr. Schoenhof and Mr. Healy to go to Chicago and to urge the Platform Committee to adopt the tariff platform as adopted by the Manufacturers' Tariff Reform League. It was unanimously adopted and, I believe, fully in accordance with Mr. Cleveland's views. I believe also that it was at that time one of the strong planks in the platform that contributed to Mr. Cleveland's first Presidential election. I am inclined to believe, as I judge by his utterances before and during the last campaign, that Mr. Cleveland still entertains the same conservative opinion in reference to the tariff that he held when he heartily approved of the platform of 1884

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on which he was elected the first Democratic President after twenty-four years of a continuous Republican rule.

Without questioning the ability and good intentions of our Representatives in Congress or in the slightest degree intending to offend them, I believe the work of drawing a new tariff bill ought to be entrusted to a carefully selected commission consisting chiefly of competent and disinterested business-men of high standing, and to them might be added a few Congressmen who are familiar with tariff legislation. I think that such a commission should have the benefit of conferring as often as required with the most experienced officials at the New York Appraisers' Stores, who, owing to their many years' service and familiarity with every point of the tariff, can give much practical information. The Commission should meet in the principal cities of the country and give the manufacturers and business-men every opportunity to be heard before it, and due notice should be given that everybody who desires to appear before the Commission must prepare himself with figures and facts relating to the same kind of business in Europe, and procure such reasonable facts and proofs and information in reference to his own business as he may be asked to produce. It is important that everybody who makes a statement be duly sworn, as there is a general impression that a great many statements made before the last tariff commission were untrustworthy.

A bill prepared by the proper committee of Congress, *viz.*, the Committee of Ways and Means, after such inquiry would give our Representatives a sufficient opportunity to display their ability and zeal in open debate in the House. There are many grave financial questions to absorb the attention of Congress when it assembles. It is therefore all the more advisable to place the exhaustive preliminary work which is absolutely necessary to the drafting of a proper and fair tariff bill in the hands of such a commission of practical, capable, and honest business men. It is after all a business question pure and simple and not a question of politics.

I have no doubt that the professional tariff-makers, who have been busily engaged in devising so called revenue tariff bills, which they intend to supply to President Cleveland's administration, free of charge, to be speedily passed at the next session of Congress, will vigorously oppose such a plan, on the plea that a commission has been tried before and proved a failure. I admit, in advance, that the last commission was a failure, but it failed simply because it represented the views of extreme protectionists and therefore was not a

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representative commission to investigate the subject in a fair and impartial spirit for the purpose of devising a just and equitable tariff to suit the wishes and requirements of the people at large. The gentlemen on that commission may have been perfectly sincere in their convictions, and may have performed their duties conscientiously, but it cannot be said that the result of their work gave us what the masses understand to be tariff reform, nor could this have been expected, because the majority of its members were extreme protectionists.

The President will have no difficulty in selecting a commission of able and honest men who will do the work thoroughly and whose patriotism can be fully trusted to advise a conservative course, with due regard to existing conditions, equally fair to capital invested in good faith, as well as to the wage-earners and the consumers. The interests of these classes are identical, and if one of them is injured, they all feel the serious effects. There is another very important reason why we should go slowly and carefully, in reference to the tariff, and have a thorough investigation and frame a new bill on facts, not theories. The people are beginning to realize that the commercial welfare of the country should not be imperilled every four years by bringing forward the tariff as a great political issue. The constant agitation of the subject, the uncertainty owing to threatened changes, either for lower or higher duties, hang like the sword of Damocles over our politics-ridden business community. For how much longer does either party expect an over-indulgent American public to put up with this? The party that shall give the country a conservative tariff, based on facts derived from a thorough investigation, that will not imperil invested capital but will maintain the high wages of our workingmen, will certainly bestow a lasting blessing on the country. No party can expect the continued support of the majority of the people whose policy is not truly patriotic and does not tend to promote the welfare and prosperity of the whole country without regard to party interests. Tariff laws, enacted on the foregoing principles, are bound to have the support of the best element of both parties and are bound to outlive the fanaticism of partisanship.

It is manifest that the prosperity of the country in a great measure consists in the earnings of the millions of wage-workers. Their earnings are so much larger than the meagre income of their European competitors that they can indulge freely in comforts and luxuries of modern civilization such as are denied to the European wage-earners. It is but fair fully and justly to investigate this subject, and to

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find out to what extent wages enter into the cost and value of goods on this side the Atlantic as compared with Europe; and this in my opinion would form a proper basis upon which a fair and equitable tariff might be built with proper regard to the best interests of the whole community and regardless of politics. To secure and to maintain the prosperity of the whole country—this is the true Democratic doctrine as I understand it. There are of course those who wish to demolish something and are ambitious to rise to political fame, if it must be, by revolutionary proceedings. But the country is well satisfied that during Mr. Cleveland's administration the preponderance of their influence will be felt chiefly at political dinners after a liberal indulgence in other spirits than the spirit of moderation and wisdom.

Unless a manufacturer have some extra profit-yielding specialty, or is protected by good and valid patents, he cannot, nowadays, make an average net profit on his product exceeding five per cent, which is a smaller profit than merchants or importers are willing to sell their goods for, and the latter do not invest their capital in buildings and machinery, nor take the large risks that the manufacturer is obliged to take. A manufacturer cannot close his business and convert his property into cash, whereas the importer or the merchant can at any time do this at a reasonable sacrifice. The general results of manufacturing enterprises of all kinds, of late, prove clearly that most such establishments are not earning more than a small interest on their invested capital, and a large number of them do not even earn anything, while many are failing because of their inability to meet their obligations. In every case, however, so long as a factory runs, employes are earning high wages—at least three times the wages of European workmen who do the same kind of work. In most cases, the value of finished goods consists chiefly in the wages and salaries paid to employes and expenses incidental to running the establishment.

Is it advisable, then, to threaten such vast interests scattered over the whole land by thrusting a change of duties on them devised by a handful of theorists, without a thorough investigation? Or would it be safer to follow a conservative course and make a thorough investigation by a specially appointed commission, with due regard to the enormous capital invested and the vast interests of the wage-earners involved? The rate of wages decides the fate of millions of our workingmen and the millions who depend upon them for their existence.

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It is fair to assume that wages, salaries and other expenses in producing finished goods from raw material range all the way from fifty to ninety per cent of the entire cost, according to the class and nature of the goods produced; and three quarters or more of this goes to wages and salaries of employes. Does it seem possible, considering the meagre profits at which manufacturers have now to market their goods, that a very low or mere revenue tariff, which should cause a violent change of values, would not more disastrously affect the wage-earners than any other class? Manufacturers cannot reduce their present margin of profit. I fail, therefore, to see how to reduce the present cost of production, unless it be taken off the wages and salaries of employes—with the exception of course of such industries as would be benefited by free raw materials. However, I do not mean to convey the idea that our present tariff system is what we want. Undoubtedly, some things are too highly protected, and the free list on raw material should be enlarged, but what I mean to say is that a change should be made only after a thorough and impartial investigation.

In conclusion, I cannot help saying a word more about wages. Although a manufacturer myself I think I can discuss the subject impartially. That much higher wages are paid in this country for the same class of work than in Europe is admitted even by the most radical free traders as well as by revenue-tariff men. But they assert that this country can afford to continue paying higher wages even under a much lower tariff, owing to improved machinery and the better mode of living of our workingmen, which enable them to do more work. Now, as to the first part of this statement, I believe that it would require a competent and practical manufacturer in each branch of industry to decide the question, after an exhaustive investigation on both sides of the Atlantic; but where does the layman get the practical knowledge and experience to pass such an opinion, when it takes a practical manufacturer a lifetime, nowadays, to make himself familiar with one single branch of manufacture? Suppose it be true that our machinery is superior to the European manufacturers' machinery. What prevents the European manufacturer from putting in improved machinery to equal ours? As a matter of fact, it is not accurate to speak in general terms of the superior machinery in American manufactories. In some special kinds of work, we have, probably, better machinery, whereas in other kinds Europeans are ahead of us, but these differences are gradually being eliminated on

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both sides, according to the individual intelligence and energy of the respective manufacturers. The chances are about equal.

I do not wish to be understood as passing an opinion on manufacturing industries outside of my own. Of my own industry, however, I claim to have a thorough and practical knowledge, and I am familiar with the works of the same kind on both sides of the ocean; and I can truthfully say that there is very little difference in the machinery, appliances and methods in the best establishments on either side. But while a skilled workman, according to his ability and steadiness, earns from two to three dollars a day here, he cannot earn more than one third of that amount in Europe. As to the mode of living, I admit that the American workman has more endurance and can probably work more, but this superiority is due entirely to the fact that he earns much higher wages and can eat meat and other nourishing food every day, steadily three times a day, whereas most European workmen regard meat as a luxury and can indulge in it only once or twice a week. Reduce our workmen to the standard of European living or near that and they will soon sink to the level of European workmen. But believing as I do in the ability of the American workman to assert himself, I do not think that he will kindly take to any change of conditions that would lower his present wage-earning ability. Manufacturers, as a rule, will not invite a struggle with their workmen materially to reduce their wages, unless circumstances over which they have no control absolutely compel them to do so for self protection. I have no doubt that, if the American manufacturers could be assured that their workmen would accept the wages of the European workmen, they would unhesitatingly prefer to be placed on an equality with European manufacturers, as far as the tariff is concerned. But the manufacturer knows that this cannot be done, that the workmen of this country would rise in a body to resist such an attempt, and that it might bring on a struggle more bloody and fearful than the country has ever witnessed.

In view of the tremendous responsibility implied in a great change of duties, it seems hardly probable that any party will be so reckless as to legislate according to the wishes of a few radicals, or seriously to consider tariff bills that are the mere guess-work of theorists. To experiment on questions of such vital importance would be more than a mistake; it would be a crime.

RAFAEL H. WOLFF.

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MARK TWAIN AND HIS RECENT WORKS.

MARK TWAIN's most notable characteristic is courage. Few other men—even if the other men could think of such things—would dare to say the things that Mark Twain says. To describe the travels of a man on a glacier, with particular reference to the fact that being pressed for time, he rode upon the middle of the glacier, which moves faster than the edges, is one of the bravest things in literature. It required courage to write "She," but She could not possibly exist, and glaciers do move.

Any one with a lively fancy may invent odd and even amusing characters and incidents, but the humorous situation of the highest order cannot be created; it must be evolved from a real situation. To do this requires not only skill but a bold spirit, for the humorist knows that an intelligent reader will probably see both situations, and if he compares unfavorably the evolved condition of affairs with the real one, the battle with that reader is lost. A pure creation of fancy does not presuppose courage; it gives little opportunity for comparative criticism.

Mark Twain is a high jumper, but he always jumps from the solid rock of fact and is not afraid of breaking his neck by falling back upon it. His funniest things are so funny because they are possible. An impossibility is a mill-stone about the neck of a joke. To load a frog with shot so that it cannot engage in a leaping-match is funny; but if one were to write of a whale inflated with balloon-gas so that it might shoot out of the water and skim through the air like a flying-fish, it would not be funny, it would be merely fantastic. In his humorous creations Mark Twain seldom plays upon words, he plays upon ideas; and as a pun would have no value were the words played upon treated without reference to their legitimate use, so he never forgets what a character is in the habit of doing when he makes him do something out of the common, and in his comical situations he uses the antithesis as if he were making a pun or an epigram.

It is the disposition of humorists to be prudent; they are careful about the rebounds of their missiles. It would be hard to find one

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who would not be afraid to ask if Adam were dead. Mark Twain's courage is shown not only in his combinations but in his descriptions. Take this account of the father of Huckleberry Finn—

"He was fifty and he looked it. His hair was long and tangled and greasy, and hung down, and you couldn't see his eyes shining through, like he was behind vines. It was all black, no gray; so was his long mixed up whiskers. There warn't no color in his face, where his face showed; it was white; not like another man's white, but a white to make a body sick, a white to make a body's flesh crawl—a tree-toad white, a fish belly white. As for his clothes—just rags, that was all. He had one ankle resting on t'other knee; the boot on that foot was busted, and two of his toes stuck through, and he worked them now and then. His hat was laying on the floor; an old black slouch, with the top caved in like a lid."

Another characteristic of Mark Twain is his use of pure and unadulterated fun. In this regard he differs from the older humorists. A great many of the things they wrote about are not funny in themselves; they are made so by the wonderful manner in which their witty authors have handled them. Mark Twain offers us the crude ore of fun. If he puts his private mark upon it, it will pass current; it does not require the mint stamp of the schools of humor. He is never afraid of not being laughed at. Consider, for instance, the passage in which the Yankee at the Court of King Arthur discovers St. Stylites at the top of his column—

"His stand was a pillar sixty feet high, with a broad platform on the top of it. He was now doing what he had been doing every day for twenty years up there—bowing his body ceaselessly and rapidly almost to his feet. It was his way of praying. I timed him with a stop watch, and he made 1244 revolutions in twenty-four minutes and forty-six seconds. It seemed a pity to have all this power going to waste. It was one of the most useful motions in mechanics, the pedal movement; so I made a note in my memorandum book, purposing some day to apply a system of elastic cords to him and run a sewing machine with it. I afterwards carried out that scheme, and got five years' good service out of him; in which time he turned out upwards of eighteen thousand first class tow-linen shirts, which was ten a day."

This is the pure ore of fun, just as it comes from the mine. It has not been coined or even cast into bars.

It must be remembered, however, that Mark Twain does not depend entirely upon the humor of his situations and conditions to make his points. His faculty and range of expression are wonderful, and it is his courage which gives to his expressions, as well as his inventions, their force and unique effect. His glittering phrases are as daring as they are bright, and they sparkle through all his books

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like stars in the sky. A humiliated person has the aspect of a "bladder that has been stepped on by a cow." A disguised king, practising obeisances, looks about "as humble as the leaning tower of Pisa," and an orator is described "who loved to stand forth before a dazed world and pour forth flame and smoke, and lava, and pumice stone, into the skies, and work his subterranean thunders, and shake himself with earthquakes, and stench himself with sulphur fumes. If he consumed his own fields and vineyards, that was a pity, yes; but he would have his eruptions at any cost." The Yankee at King Arthur's court speaks thus of a damsel of the period—

"I was gradually coming to have a mysterious and shuddery reverence for this girl; for nowadays whenever she pulled out from the station and got her train fairly started on one of those horizonless trans-continental sentences of hers, it was borne in upon me, that I was standing in the awful presence of the Mother of the German Language."

Examples of the poignancy of expression with which Mark Twain spurs his readers into a proper appreciation of what he is telling them, are too abundant for further reference, but although he uses them so easily, he does not always find them necessary. Some of the funniest passages in his later works, as well as in those by which he made his reputation, contain not a flash of wit nor any unusual expressions. A combination is presented in the plainest and simplest way, and as the substances are poured together the humor effervesces, not in the author's story, but in the reader's mind.

We have an example of this in an article on ships in his last book. The author asserts that in these days Noah would not be allowed to sail from Bremen in the ark, without first being subjected to an official inspection. After discovering that Noah's ship is six hundred feet long and very large otherwise, the inspector asks him how many passengers he has, to which Noah answers, "Eight."

"Sex?"
"Half male, the other female."
"Ages?"
"From a hundred years up."
"Up to where?"
"Six hundred."
"Crew?"
"The same eight."
"Have any of you ever been to sea?"
"No, sir."
"Where were you reared?"
"On a farm,—all of us."

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"Who is Captain?"

"I am."

"You must get a Captain. Also a chambermaid. Also sick nurses for the old people. Who designed this vessel?"

"I did, sir."

"Is it your first attempt?"

"Yes, sir."

"I partly suspected it. Cargo?"

"Animals."

"Wild or tame?"

"Mainly wild."

"Securely caged?"

"No, not caged."

"They must have iron cages. Who feeds and waters the menagerie?"

"We do."

"The old people?"

"Yes, sir."

"It is dangerous—for both. The animals must be cared for by a competent force. How many are there?"

"Big ones, seven thousand; big and little together, ninety-eight thousand."

"You must provide twelve hundred keepers."

"How many pumps have you?"

"None, sir."

"You must provide pumps."

"What is the nature of your steering apparatus?"

"We haven't any."

"Haven't you a rudder?"

"No, sir."

"How do you steer the vessel?"

"We don't."

"You must provide a rudder. How many anchors have you?"

"None."

"Provide twenty-five. Did I understand you to say this was your first attempt at ship-building?"

"My very first. I built this ark without having ever had the slightest training or experience or instruction in marine architecture."

"It is a remarkable work, sir. I consider it contains more features that are new—absolutely new and unhackneyed—than are to be found in any other vessel that swims the sea."

Sometimes a witty point in a remark is omitted in such a way that the effect is a great deal stronger than if it had been left in. In "A Petition to the Queen of England," Mark Twain objects to an income-tax which has been demanded of him as an author, and points out the fact that authors are not mentioned in the official schedule. Mr. Bright, a clerk of the Inland Revenue Office, had said to him, "You are taxed under Schedule D, section 14." Then, writes Mark Twain—

"I turned to that place, and found these three things; 'Trades, Offices, Gas Works.' Of course, after a moment's reflection, hope came up again, and then

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certainty: Mr. Bright was in error and clear off the track; for authorship is not a trade, it is an inspiration; authorship does not keep an office, its habitation is all out under the sky, and everywhere that the winds are blowing and the sun is shining and the creatures of God are free. Now then, since I have no trade and keep no office, I am not taxable under Schedule D, section 14. Your Majesty sees that."

In this deft omission of a reference to gas-works the author draws out the wit of his readers as a magnet draws needles from a cushion.

We who remember Mark Twain when his light first rose above the horizon cannot help thinking of him as a humorist above everything else, for it was as such he rose, and as such his radiance increased. We soon came to know that he was also a philosopher and after a time that he was a story-teller, but for all that and despite our added knowledge of him, we still think first of his brightness, and often forget that his surface may be inhabited or that he has an influence upon our tides.

His philosophy of course, came in with his humor and although the fact was not always noticed, it often formed part of it. Later this philosophic spirit grew and strengthened until it was able to stand alone, and in some of his more recent writings it not only stands up very steadily but it does some bold fighting. As illustrations of the workings of the reasoning powers in his characters, we give two extracts from "Huckleberry Finn." In the first of these the boy deprecates the upbraiding of his conscience in a case where he was not at all to blame—

"But that's always the way; it don't make no difference whether you do right or wrong, a person's conscience ain't got no sense, and just goes for him *anyway*. If I had a yaller dog that didn't know no more than a person's conscience does, I would pisen him. It takes up more room than all the rest of a person's insides and ain't no good, nohow."

In the following, Huckleberry is on a raft with Jim, a negro, who is trying to escape from slavery, and they are approaching Cairo, the nearest point of free soil—

"Jim said it made him all over trembly and feverish to be so close to freedom. Well, I can tell you, it made me all over trembly and feverish, too, to hear him, because I begun to get it through my head that he *was* most free—and who was to blame for it? Why *me*. I couldn't get that out of my conscience, no how, nor no way. It got to troubling me so I couldn't rest; I couldn't stay still in one place. It hadn't ever come home to me before, what this thing was that I was doing. But now it did; and it staid with me, and scorched me more and more. I tried to make out to myself that *I* warn't to blame, because *I* didn't run off Jim from his rightful owner; but it warn't no use, conscience up and says, every time, 'But you knowed he was running for his freedom, and

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you could have paddled ashore and told somebody.' That was so—I couldn't get around that, noway. That was where it pinched. Conscience says to me, 'What had poor Miss Watson done to you, that you should see her nigger go off right under your eyes and never say a single word? What did that poor old woman do to you, that you could treat her so mean? Why, she tried to learn you your book, she tried to learn you your manners, she tried to be good to you every way she knowed how. *That's* what she's done.'

"I got to feeling so mean and miserable I most wished I was dead. I fidgeted up and down the raft, abusing myself to myself, and Jim was fidgeting up and down past me. We neither of us could keep still. Every time he danced around and says 'Dah's Cairo!' it went through me like a shot, and I thought if it *was* Cairo I reckoned I would die of miserableness.

"Jim talked out loud all the time while I was talking to myself. He was saying how the first thing he would do when he got to a free state he would go to saving up money and never spend a single cent, and when he got enough he would buy his wife, which was owned on a farm close to where Miss Watson lived; and then they would both work to buy the two children, and if their master wouldn't sell them, they'd get an Ab'litionist to go and steal them.

"It most froze me to hear such talk. He wouldn't ever dare to talk such talk in his life before. Just see what a difference it made in him the minute he judged he was about free. It was according to the old saying, 'Give a nigger an inch and he'll take an ell.' Thinks I, this is what comes of my not thinking. Here was a nigger which I had as good as helped to run away, coming right out flat-footed and saying he would steal his children—children that belonged to a man I didn't even know; a man that hadn't done me no harm. I was sorry to hear Jim say that, it was such a lowering of him. My conscience got to stirring me up hotter than ever."

In these passages the humor is merely sprinkled on the rest of the substance. It is like the fun of a circus-clown taking the money at the door; he may be a queer fellow, but he means business.

These extracts lead us insensibly from the consideration of Mark Twain as a funny man and as an expert in logical processes, to Mark Twain as a story-teller. In "The Prince and the Pauper," he took his stand as a writer of fiction with but little reference to his other and then better known qualifications. Of the success of this departure there can be no doubt, and there are critics of high order who consider "The Prince and the Pauper" our author's best work. But it must be remembered that in the average family the boys are as good as the girls; and if some of us marry the one and some of us the other, it is because of our own difference of sex.

It was quite natural that Mark Twain should become a story-teller. The man of broad sympathies, who is able, with interest to himself and others, to evolve the *may be* from the *is*, is sure to end by writing stories, no matter how he begins. He may do it in verse or he may do it in prose, but he will do it. He may set out on his career by describing his own travels, but this field will surely become

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too small for him, no matter how deep he may dig down into it, or how high he may build above it, and he will leap the wall into regions where he will make people who will travel wherever he choses to send them, and do and say whatever he choses to make them do and say. Thus came "Tom Sawyer" and "Huckleberry Finn," and thus came shorter stories, such as "The £1,000,000 Bank Note." In this we recognize, first of all, that unbounded courage which rises, as we have said, above all other characteristics of Mark Twain; what other author would have dared to put five million dollars into the hands of an intelligent tramp, and to tell him to go forth with it and seek adventures?

It is well known that the actor of comedy often casts longing glances toward the tragic mask, and when he has an opportunity to put it on, he often wears it so well that one cannot say he has no right to it. The same pen-point which will make a man laugh out in church, if gently pricked by it, will not only slay a bride at the altar, but will go entirely through her and kill her father who is giving her away. The figure with the tragic mask stalks through much of Mark Twain's work. In "The Prince and the Pauper" he darkens the page like a semi-weekly eclipse; while in the feud of the Shepherdsons and the Grangerfords in "Huckleberry Finn," he throws himself with such earnestness into his tragic action that his comic mask drops unnoticed from his hand and might be lost forever, were it not caught on one of the six arms of the picture of the young woman about to jump from the bridge.

Long live that comic mask! With such a forest of points for it to catch upon, there will be no danger of its ever being lost, and while Mark Twain lives he will not cease to be the man of the double stroke—the Bismarck of humorists.

FRANK R. STOCKTON.

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TASKS LEFT FOR THE EXPLORER.

WHAT discoveries in science are still possible? This question has doubtless attracted the human mind, at periodic intervals, ever since the day a discovery was first announced. The vision of possibilities is an extended one, and the field itself is very much broader than can either be surveyed by the analytic eye, or comprehended by the most powerful intellect. Discoveries have made certain epochs or centuries brilliant—indeed, memorable for all time—but however splendid or far-reaching they themselves might have been, they were never yet so transcendent that it could not have been reasonably hoped that the greatest would be surpassed by the still greater of the future. The late Professor Balfour Stewart, in an address delivered a few years ago before the British Association for the Advancement of Science, suggested that the world was on the eve of the greatest discovery that had ever been made; but of the nature and quality of this anticipated discovery the distinguished physicist announced himself as being in total ignorance—not even the special domain of science which it touched could be foretold. The looked-for, one might almost say hoped-for, discovery has not been made, but no scientist will make bold to assert that it may not be announced at any moment.

However extended the possibilities of research may yet be in the domains of biological and physical science, it would appear that in at least one department of exploration a limiting horizon has been set. The four hundred years of positive geographical work that have followed the Columbian era, from which, in the discovery or rediscovery of America, we may date the foundation of a universal geography, have so far narrowed the promise of important exploratory discovery that probably to most minds this would be considered to lie entirely beyond the pale of reasonable expectation. The solution of three of the four great geographical problems of the century —the finding of the North-West Passage, the North-East Passage, and the location of the sources of the Nile—has been realized, all within the period of the last forty years, and one, the Nile prob-

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lem, if strictly considered, only within the present twelvemonth. The problem of accessibility to the Pole, so far as a pure geographical record is concerned, remains where it was approximately three centuries ago, when Henry Hudson, in an entirely unworthy craft, reached the extraordinarily high latitude of 80° 23′, a position less than two hundred geographical miles short of the farthest that has since been attained (83° 24′). Yet there are good reasons for believing that even this problem will be closed by one or other of the three or four expeditions—those of Nansen, Peary, Ekroll, and Jackson—which are projected for this summer, and whose destination is equally the "farthest north." *E poi?*

Is our knowledge of the earth's surface really such that no very great or important discovery is longer possible? To the plodder in details, to the one reasoning from a narrower horizon, the answer to this question will probably present itself affirmatively; to the speculative mind, on the other hand, to the one who weighs possibilities and probabilities of discovery in the same balance, the answer may with justice remain negative. Seemingly, it is true, there is no longer room for a discovery of the first magnitude; the contours of the continents are known to us both in their broader outlines and in their special details—the inland features in their mountains, lakes, and rivers. The oceans have been sounded from surface to bottom, and their physiography studied with an amount of care little less than that which has been bestowed upon the exploration of the land areas. Yet with all this accomplished, it cannot be said that we possess more than the most rudimental knowledge of a still very large portion of the earth's surface; of the possibilities of this unknown world we are, of course, in ignorance.

Three centuries ago Sir Martin Frobisher wrote regarding the North-West Passage that its discovery was the only thing in the world left "undone whereby a notable mind might be made famous and fortunate." At that time we knew little or nothing of the greater part of Africa or Australia, but little more of South America, and of Asia only its outer form and a disjointed section of its internal skeleton. To-day this ignorance has largely disappeared, but not sufficiently to bar out the possibility of still important discoveries. When in 1862 the great equatorial African lake, Victoria Nyanza, was discovered, it was not assumed that a second large lake, the Albert Nyanza, would so soon after be added to the feeders of the Nile; nor could it be foreseen by the historians of that river that in

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a westwardly-flowing stream, the Congo, a rival would be found which touched the Egyptian water both in magnitude and in magnificence. Similarly, on our own continent, prior to the "seventies," it would have been rash to predict that in the icy north a stream would be discovered which might lay just claim to being considered a rival to the Mississippi River and to contesting for supremacy with the largest rivers of the globe. Yet the history of the Yukon River is a part of the history of our own time, and it falls easily within the memory of the greater number of the readers of this magazine.

The critical geographical eye sees but one country which closes out all promise of important discovery and is known to the world in such a way as to attract to it the explorer of pleasure rather than of science. That country is Europe; its boundaries and extents have been minutely determined, its mountain elevations measured with a scrupulous exactitude which leaves little to be accomplished. Both in its physical and descriptive characters we know it with much the accuracy that we know the counties of any of the more favored States of our Union—indeed, in some respects, with much greater accuracy. The tourist-traveller who has had an opportunity to turn the pages of that most remarkable of geographical text-books, the Baedeker guide-book, marvels at the thoroughness and minuteness of its information. A country is completely described. Not only in its broader details, but also in its less important elements of lane and cow-path, do we find evidence of that close knowledge which tells that the story is finished, and it has been practically finished for nearly a century. Only in the inner depths of Europe, along the pathway of the geologist, is hope still held out to the geographer, but probably even he would elect to spare his knowledge rather than travel the roads, such as the contemplated corkscrew within the Jungfrau, with which desecrating concessions threaten to disembowel the universe.

In the greater half of the Eurasiatic continent, the foothold of the geographer is much less secure. China and its dependencies, the great complex of central plateaux which are in part an adjunct of the Celestial Empire and which crowd westwardly the mountains that hold up that much coveted piece of table-land known as the Pamir, or the "Roof of the World," are yet to be known, as the recent researches of Younghusband, Bourne, and Rockhill clearly show. The forbidden soil of L'hassa, of which the romantic Father Huc has given a description more picturesque than strictly important in its details, still awaits the historiographers of the type of Burton, Palgrave,

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or Vambéry. Even within English domain the *lacunæ* are still far from having all been filled in. The heart of the Himalayas, a corner of the globe which in its lofty projections offers a seemingly limitless field to the mountaineers, has only within late years discovered itself to that particular class of explorers known as the "Alpinists," and already a cartographic havoc is impending. Mount Everest, which for a period of nearly forty years has held the undisputed honor of being recognized as the loftiest elevation of the earth's surface, attaining the not insignificant altitude of twenty-nine thousand and two feet, is in danger of being dethroned, just as the famous Kunchinjinga of our early geographical days has been doubly eclipsed by both Everest and Dapsang. The remarkable ascents that have latterly been made in this region of the "abode of snow," securing positions for observation which were unattainable before, have so modified our knowledge of the relations of the different mountain-peaks to one another as to make former interpretations at least doubtful, and not only by reason of a negative clause in their representation, but through a positive element which has been introduced by the discovery of a larger number of giant peaks whose existence had not before been even suspected. Everest may or may not be India's proud Gaurisankar, but in either event it stands a good chance of yielding the palm of elevation to other peaks of the same region. Definitely to settle this point regarding the highest elevation of the earth's surface is still an honorable task for the geographer.

In the region of the Himalayas, too, will be ultimately solved the problem of man's capacity as a mountain-climber. It is barely a hundred years since the first ice-covered mountain, the Buet, was ascended (1770), and in 1786, when the summit of Mont Blanc was first reached, the feat was considered a very remarkable one. To-day the ascent is a popular, and one might almost say, fashionable one, and is accomplished largely without those accessories of mountaineering—*mal de montagne*, bleeding of the eyes and nose, nausea, *etc.*—which so greatly disturbed the old masters of mountain-climbing. Every decade, almost, has seen new possibilities added to the limit of man's power in this line of work, and it is an interesting question, to be determined at a future day, where the actual limits of possibility will be reached. Humboldt's ascent of Chimborazo to a point, according to the observations of Whymper, of perhaps less than nineteen thousand feet elevation, added lustre to the researches of that remarkable investigator; but to-day, after what has been ac-

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complished by the brothers Schlagintweit, by Graham and Conway in the Himalayas, by Donkin and Freshfield in the Caucasus, by Meyer on Kilimao Njaro, by Güssfeldt on Aconcagua, by Reiss, Wolff and Whymper among the equatorial Andes, and by Russell on St. Elias, such an undertaking would scarcely pass beyond the records of the geographer and the archives of geographical societies. Especially suggestive of possibilities is Mr. Conway's long-continued work at elevations of from seventeen thousand to twenty-three thousand feet, when seemingly no ill-effects, beyond heart-fatigue, were experienced. Mr. Clinton Dent, an Alpinist of very reputable standing, in a recently published paper on the "Physiological Effects of High Altitudes," arrives at the rather startling conclusion—

> **"Neither on mountaineering nor on physiological grounds does the possibility of ascending Gaurisankar appear hopeless. To some extent a question of men, it is largely a question of money. . . . The attempt would be costly, long, laborious, and not free from risk; but it is possible."**

In the "dark" continent, which for a half-century or more held its gates largely closed against the offending traveller, the work of exploration has so far dispelled the mysteries of the unknown as forever to remove that halo of fascination from the desert ground which has made famous the names of Mungo Park, Livingstone, Barth, Burton, Speke, and Baker. The remarkable schedule performances of Stanley have shown that African travel is amenable to the same laws of calculation which govern travelling elsewhere, and that neither special constitution nor preparation is needed for this work. The unknown lakes of forty years ago are now sailed by small steamers, the west-coursing Congo has been placed in close contact with the northwardly-flowing Nile, and a regular mail-service established hundreds of miles into the interior. The continent has been traversed along different lines from north to south, and from east to west, and while it is true that we are not by any means acquainted with every mile of country of the vast interior, and that new lakes, rivers, and mountains are still to be discovered, it seems not very likely that any marked modification of the African map will be necessitated by future exploration. The Nile has been traced to its ultimate source, the courses of the Niger, Congo, and Zambesi determined, and the existence of the long Ptolemaic (?) transverse range of "Mountains of the Moon" disproved. In the heart of the continent south of the Soudan a vast primeval forest, singularly monotonous and uniform in its composition, and probably unchanged for

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thousands of years even in its individual components, still holds out a prize for discovery, but it is to the naturalist and ethnologist, rather than to the geographer, that the fruits of discovery will pertain. Whether with reason or without, the search for the "missing link" will long continue to be made here, in the home of the gorilla and chimpanzee, where as yet a nearly virgin field is open to the zoologist and botanist. The pygmy races of Du Chaillu, Schweinfurth, and Stanley, whatever their relations to one another or to the pygmies of Herodotus may be, have a history of their own which only in broken passages has thus far succeeded in issuing from the dark solitudes of its birth.

Our sister continent of the south invites alike to its mountain fastnesses and to the vast wilderness of forest which rolls off from them to the Atlantic, and still secretes the head-waters of some of the most potent of the Amazonian tributaries. Nature has probably remained less changed here during a century of time than in any other equal part of the earth's surface. The forests of the Cassiguiare and Orinoco, which have been so picturesquely delineated by Humboldt, the solemn mazes of the Amazons which brought lasting life to the pen and pencil of a Von Martins, still stand omnipotent, regardless of the inroads which a feeble civilization has attempted to make in them. Savage nature still smiles at the tiny craft that navigate the king of American waters, but the penetration of steam means the breaking away of barriers, and before long, probably, the freshness and verdure of the tropical solitudes will be only a reminiscence of the past. The progress of the mountaineer is well graven in the icy slopes of the high Andean chain, and if no such remarkable ascents have yet been made as those of Graham and Conway in the Himalayas, little remains undone the accomplishment of which would add lustre to the mountain-craft, unless it be the conquest of Sorata or Illimani, the contestants to supremacy over the entire system of American mountains. Roraima, the famous and presumably inaccessible plateau-mountain of Venezuela, which stood impregnable until the closely-calculating eye of Im Thurn had detected a point of weakness, has fallen among the many links which connect the impossible with the possible.

That any important geographical discoveries should still be achieved within the boundaries of the North American continent will appear little probable to most readers, and still less discoveries within the domain of the United States itself. It is true that only

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within recent years an attempt had been made to establish a new "true" source for the Mississippi, and that vague rumors had associated Mistassini, lying near the Height of Land in Canada, with a lake of the dimensions of Superior, but these efforts at forcing discoveries have been promptly baffled by a demonstration of facts. Yet it is not too much to say that considerable geographical work still remains undone in our continent, and that a refreshing uncertainty surrounds our knowledge of some of the aspects of nature in America which ought long ago to have been dispelled. Only two years ago, the mysteries of the Grand Falls of Labrador, which tradition had invested with the dignity and grandeur of a second Niagara, were cleared up, and but a few years before was made the determination that true glaciers and active volcanoes still taught a geological lesson within the confines of the major United States. But even to-day, were the question to be solemnly asked, Where are we to search for the culminating point of the Union? there would probably be found few to answer, for in fact the point, whether it be Mount Whitney, the Sierra Blanca, or some other peak of the Rocky Mountains, has not yet been absolutely determined. And why should such accuracy be expected from western geography when it is still barely known in many parts of the eastern United States? Who, for example, will state with a near approach to positiveness where lies the highest point of the State of Pennsylvania, and what is its name? The most exhaustive and detailed geological work that has been executed in any State of the Union has been done in the State of Pennsylvania, yet it is only a few years ago that the State Geologist, in one of his Annual Reports, excused the deficiencies of his work on the ground of inaccuracy of topographical detail, the boundary line, for example, of the northwestern counties being located fully one mile out of the position which is assigned to it by the much more accurate topographical data furnished by the adjoining State of New Jersey; and similar inaccuracies of detail exist to this day in the physiographic determinations even of the immediate surroundings of Philadelphia. Nor can it be said that we are much better placed with regard to several other States of the Atlantic border.

Both in the United States and in Canada the main field of exploration lies in the mountain regions. That close orographic work which in Germany, France, Switzerland and Austria has permitted of a cartographic representation which appeals to the eye with a

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vivid reality known only to those who have made frequent use of the better German and Swiss atlases, has thus far barely entered upon more than the initial stage with us. The eastern mountains have been, in fact, studied with a minuteness and detail which leave little to be desired, but this can scarcely be claimed for the vast western complex which constitutes the true axis of the North American continent. Mount Hood, in Oregon, has for years been famous, in consequence of a rapid loss of upward of five thousand feet of its assumed height, as a feature intermediate between a mountain and a hole in the ground; and even within the last two or three years we have been asked to decide the elevation of that colossus among snow-clad mountains, St. Elias, as between thirteen thousand five hundred and twenty thousand feet!

The eyes of geographers are at the present time directed to two regions of the earth's surface which in the estimate, probably, of most minds, hold out the least promise of geographical conquest or discovery. These are the regions of the North and South Poles. Nothing appears to be more thoroughly engrafted in the vulgar conception of a Polar enterprise than that its sole object is the attainment of the position of the Pole—hence the oft-repeated question, Of what use? The fact that discoveries of various kinds, important as supplying to the scientist data of a form and character that could not otherwise be readily obtained, can be made in the course of such exploration, seems rarely to enter into a general calculation; yet there have been few expeditions to the far North which have not yielded results commensurate with the effort that has been put to them. Apart from the practical results that have arisen from such discoveries as that of the Magnetic Pole—toward the more accurate determination of the position of which an expedition is at the present moment organizing through the efforts of Colonel Gilder—from that knowledge of the icy seas which has permitted of the establishment and prosecution of an important and permanent whaling industry, and that experience of ice-navigation which to-day encourages reasonable hope of opening a new commercial route between Europe and the heart of Asia, the sciences of zoology, geology, and botany have received invaluable accessions to their store-houses of facts, and oceanography and meteorology scarcely less important data serviceable for the elucidation of many obscure and vexed problems which still await solution.

To the "practical" mind—the mind that weighs the value of a

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discovery only in an estimate of coin—such accessions to knowledge may appear trivial and valueless, and as not warranting the expenditure of force and money that is applied toward their acquisition. It is rarely remembered, however, that an immense amount of energy is annually expended in the exploration of the past facts of history which can have but little bearing upon the life of to-day, in the exploitation of the mysteries of metaphysical and philosophical science which are equally little adapted toward guiding one to an easy path of life, and in producing that which touches only the æsthetic side of nature. For those who identify the progress of civilization with a search after truth, it is hardly necessary to answer the question regarding the value of Arctic exploration. It was fully answered a half-century ago by that stern friend of knowledge, Sir John Barrow, when he wrote—

> **"The North Pole is the only thing in the world about which we know nothing; and that want of all knowledge ought to operate as a spur to adopt the means of wiping away that stain of ignorance from this enlightened age."**

It is not possible to anticipate the discoveries that may be made by the several Arctic expeditions which will be thrown into a common race during the next twelve months, and which a national pride will follow with more than usual interest. The leaders of two, at least—Jackson and Nansen—have openly declared for the Pole, and their paths lie not very far from one another. The one has selected the route *via* Francis-Joseph Land, using the pack-sea as an avenue of pedestrian travel; the other has chosen the sea east of Francis-Joseph Land, and pinned his confidence to a craft navigated by the hazard will of the oceanic waters, free from the disturbing influence of man. Jackson has closely determined the contingencies of his ice-traverse; Nansen leaves to the tender mercies of wind and current a drift that has been calculated for three or four years. Mr. Peary's new exploration begins where his achievement of last year terminated. From Independence Bay, on the northeast coast of Greenland, in latitude 81° 37′, one section of the exploring party will survey the coast-line southward to Cape Bismarck, in latitude 77° 01′, while another will follow the coast to its farthest extension in the opposite direction, and gain the "farthest north" of Lockwood and Brainard in 83° 24′. This course involves the circumnavigation, or more properly—since the effort will doubtless be executed on the frozen surface of the sea—the rounding of the Greenland archipelago, the

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insular masses lying north of Independence Bay and of what appears to be a continuation of the Victoria or Nordenskjöld Inlet. To what degree of northern latitude this course of exploration may lead cannot in the nature of things be predicted; but there are reasons for believing that the outlying insular masses extend to fully the eighty-fifth parallel, and possibly much further. That a position nearer the Pole than has ever before been reached will be attained by this northern party is extremely probable, and the question, barring a discussion of possible disaster, is merely, How much further north will this position be?

On the route selected by Jackson, land (Francis-Joseph Land) is known also to extend to the eighty-third parallel, and here, too, there are reasons for believing that this extent may be very much greater. For many miles, however, before the eighty-fourth parallel is reached, whether it be on the European or on the American side, our knowledge of the region ceases, and conjecture takes the place of fact. Nothing known to-day precludes the possibility of, or renders improbable, the discovery of large island-masses lying in the region of the Pole, and room remains even for the existence there of a continental area. The accidental discovery of Francis-Joseph Land through the drift of the "Tegethoff" was one of those surprises to the geographer which strongly emphasize the necessity for caution in dealing with purely theoretical problems, and prepare the mind to concede that the unknown has much to offer which not even a theorist could divine. Can it be asserted that in a land area which might be reasonably assumed to exist in the region of the Pole a race of people will not be found who are wholly isolated from the rest of mankind? Among the possibilities of Polar discovery this one rarely figures, yet its realization would be of transcendent, although possibly sentimental, interest, and would give a greater impetus to exploration in general than almost any other discovery.

It is true there are no special reasons for holding a belief in the existence of such people, but almost equally little reason can be found for denying their existence. The Eskimo problem is still an unsolved one; just how and why these peculiar people came to occupy the high northern region which they now inhabit, only a close study of past and present conditions of existence can determine. The most northern (occupied) habitation on the surface of the earth lies somewhat south of the seventy-eighth parallel of latitude—the hut of Igludahominy, on Robertson Bay, Northwest Greenland; but less

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than a quarter of a century ago the Eskimo was still a lonely hunter nearly a degree further to the north, and traces of a departed tribe have been found even along the eighty-second parallel. And if a permanent habitation was possible at a distance of less than five hundred geographical miles from the Pole, there is nothing inherently improbable in the assumption, granting the existence of still more northerly lands, that such habitation extended quite to the Pole itself.

The possibilities of discovery in Polar exploration are returned with perhaps still greater value from the Antarctic region than from the Arctic. The little that has been accomplished since the brilliant exploit of Ross half a century ago has served mainly to dissipate certain broad conclusions which had been from time to time hastily gathered and put together by practical navigators as well as pure theorists, and to show how profound is our ignorance of a region whose area is measured in millions of miles. It is not readily comprehensible why so few well-equipped expeditions have been directed toward this quarter of the globe, and it should be a cause for satisfaction to all who appreciate a knowledge of our earth's every feature that so able and experienced a commander as Baron Nordenskjöld, the discoverer of the North-East Passage, should have undertaken to remove the mystery from the south, coincidently with the work of Nansen, Peary, and Jackson in the north. The eyes of the world will follow with keen interest the experiences of these masters in exploration; and while, doubtless, a goodly share of protest and criticism will follow in the wake of the departed, the reflection will still come home that the search after knowledge has no limits and knows no time.

ANGELO HEILPRIN.

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JOURNALISM AS A CAREER.

JOURNALISM in its essential qualifications is a learned profession; in its exactions, its limitations to income and its insecurity of employment, it is more nearly a trade.

Thirteen years of constant labor as a newspaper-man have forced me to this conclusion, and I am led to offer it here not through any dissatisfaction with my lot in life but as a fair definition of what I am pleased to call my "profession." It must be borne in mind, however, that this definition does not apply to capital in journalism, but to labor. When the question of capital is considered, journalism becomes at once a business, pure and simple. Money is invested to make money. The fundamental principle of metropolitan journalism to-day is to buy white paper at three cents a pound and sell it at ten cents a pound. And in some quarters it does not matter how much the virgin whiteness of the paper is defiled so long as the defilement sells the paper. It is not the purpose of this article to attack or even describe the perverted ethics of modern journalism, except in so far as it affects the working newspaper-man. It is the material rather than the moral advantage or disadvantage which claims attention here —what journalism offers to the man who adopts it as a lifelong vocation.

There is no calling so alluring to the young and the uninitiated as newspaper-work. The variety, the excitement, the constantly-recurring opportunities to visit new scenes, to meet famous people, to undergo novel experiences, envelop this work in a seductive glamour. The fact that behind its representative always stands the mighty power of the newspaper itself fills the novice with a delightful sensation that approximates intoxication. He assumes that he is a part of that vast, indefinite and mysterious potentiality which the public dreads and fears and sometimes, not unreasonably, hates. To have men of years and wealth and station treat him with deferential consideration swells him with a sense of his own importance. To be paid to go where other people pay to go, to take precedence in public gatherings, to enter portals closed to others, to penetrate police

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and fire lines—in short, to experience all the advantages which policy rather than courtesy extends to the newspapers, is a constant delight to the new reporter. Nor is it less gratifying to him to realize that he has stepped from the door of his *alma mater* into a new world which furnishes him with a living while it entertains him so royally. His classmate who chose the law is still digging in a law-school or drudging in a lawyer's office, actually paying money to learn a profession while he is paid to learn the newspaper-business. His income for the first year is from five hundred dollars to seven hundred dollars. This is doubled in the second year. In the third year, or even sooner if he is at all clever, he is permitted to write for his newspaper "on space," that is, at a certain stipulated sum a column.

This is a glorious day for him. Still beardless and but little more than two years in journalism, he finds himself on a footing of equality, so far as opportunity to make money is concerned, with men who are twice his age and have grown gray in the service. His soul is filled with exultation; ambition spurs him to renewed effort, and the horizon of his future is bright with the rosy glow of hope. His income the next year is three thousand dollars. He works day and night, in fair weather and foul. Like the soldier, he stands ready to answer every call of duty and performs every task faithfully and well. But three thousand dollars is his income the next year and the next and the next, until he realizes one day that he has grown old. Young men are entering the business just as he entered it and are pushing him to the wall just as he pushed others. Novelty has ceased to attract him, he no longer feels the spur of ambition, enthusiasm is dead, the glamour of journalism is gone. He fights stubbornly for a living for himself and his family. But with all his desperate struggling he sees his income dwindle just as it grew. The best work is given to younger men, to those who are nimbler on their feet and quicker with their pens. Unlike the soldier, he finds his years of faithful service count for nothing. He has grown old in a business which has no place for old men, where to grow old is accounted almost a crime. He is not dismissed, but he is starved out—not deliberately, but because the work must be done more quickly than he can do it. He cannot better his condition with any other newspaper, because every other newspaper recognizes that he is of as little value to it as he is to the journal which sapped his vitality and dropped him.

What becomes of him? If he has been frugal and thrifty, he

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may have saved enough money to insure him against penury. With these savings and fugitive work here and there, he is enabled to eke out his existence to the end. If he has saved nothing, and thrift is not a characteristic or privilege of newspaper-men in general, he becomes one of those gray ghosts that haunt Newspaper Row asking for work that is seldom given, begging a little money from this friend or that, dying at last so poor that decent burial is vouchsafed only through the meagre charity of the Press Club. This picture is not attractive, but its truth is fully attested by the white and silent witnesses that dot the green sward of Cypress Hills Cemetery.

The most pathetic figure in journalism is the man who has grown old in its service. Through no fault of his, he finds himself without a vocation when he most needs it. In any other business, his experience would be of value. The accumulated knowledge of years would command a price commensurate with its worth. Here it is valueless, because in the first ten years of his journalistic career he has mastered the art of reporting, of copy-reading, of any routine departmental work, and experience shows that celerity decreases with age after a certain period of years has been reached. Journalism is essentially a business for young men. They rush into it by hundreds, they remain in it by tens. Ninety per cent of the men who enter journalism leave it before they become old. They remain in it only long enough to make it a stepping-stone to something else less exacting, less limited in remuneration, less insecure in employment. On the staff of the daily newspaper with which I am connected there is only one man over fifty years of age, and the average age of the employes in the editorial department is less than thirty-five. A canvass of other metropolitan newspaper-offices will show but a slight variation from these figures. There are more old men doing messenger-service for telegraph companies than reporting for the daily newspapers.

Where do these men go when they give up newspaper-work? They are to be found chiefly in politics or the theatrical business, two pursuits closely allied to journalism, although the law entices many and strictly commercial pursuits a few. A vast number die in the service before they grow old. The death-rate is high among newspaper-workers. This is a business which knows no Sabbath, no holiday, no day of rest. The newspaper must be printed three hundred and sixty-five days in the year, and the mental fatigue, the nervous waste, the physical exhaustion necessary to accomplish this

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feat must be shared in some degree by every member of the staff. The result is that vitality is more quickly destroyed here than elsewhere and newspaper-workers die young.

It would seem that a business so alluring to beginners should retain a greater percentage of men entering it. The first cause to drive them out is the limit of money to be earned. I have already cited the case of the reporter and have mentioned three thousand dollars per annum as his income. This is a high figure. The average income of reporters working for the New York newspapers is really less than two thousand dollars per annum. Copy-readers average about the same. The various heads of departments, such as dramatic, musical, sporting, foreign and exchanges, range from two thousand dollars to three thousand five hundred dollars; editorial writers from two thousand five hundred dollars to four thousand dollars; city and Sunday editors from three thousand dollars to five thousand dollars; and managing editors from five thousand dollars to fifteen thousand dollars. It must be borne in mind, however, that each newspaper has but one managing editor. There are probably only two men in metropolitan journalism, without proprietary interests, who draw a salary of fifteen thousand dollars; two more may draw ten thousand dollars each, and the others have high places but low incomes. And yet there are people who insist on placing journalism on the same professional plane with law and medicine. Just think of limiting the income from the practice of law or medicine to any such figures as these!

It is this limitation, fixed by the relation of labor to capital, which makes journalism more of a trade than a profession. The newspaper-worker is simply a wage-earner, a hired man. It is a good trade, a grand and noble trade in brains, but it is a trade, and it is a mere hallucination to call it a profession in the sense that law and medicine are professions.

Insecurity of employment is a kindred evil. What a man does counts for little against what he does not do. One error in judgment, one serious mistake, will wipe out a record of years of faithful, conscientious and fruitful toil. A change in management or the whim of a proprietor may annul a position won by a lifetime of earnest endeavor and devotion to duty. One instance will serve to illustrate this point. A man had held for years the post of city editor on a large New York daily. He had become famous throughout the world of journalism as the greatest news-condenser of his

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time. The newspaper he had served so long suddenly dropped him from the place he had held with such credit to it and such honor to himself. And for what? Not that he had made any error, but that he had grown old. For this crime, he was cast adrift in the stormy sea of journalism, to seek bread elsewhere. No position similar to his old one was open to him, and he was forced in the evening of his life to begin a new career, to start again as a reporter, to go back to the work he had done thirty years before. He made the effort and struggled bravely for a time, but the keen competition of younger and stronger men told against him and he found himself outrun in the grovelling race for a livelihood. One night he was sent out on a river-front assignment in the cold and wet and darkness of a winter storm. That night he met his death amid the floating ice of the Hudson. It may have been an accident, but whatever the cause of his death his heart had been broken. This is but one of a long series of similar tragedies.

Not a year passes without one or more "shake-ups," as newspaper-men call them, in the offices of our large dailies. Without apparent cause, men are assigned to new and humiliating duties or are thrown out of employment altogether. The managing editor of to-day may have the choice to-morrow of doing reporter's work or of doing no work at all. The firmly-established principle of American journalism is that the newspaper is everything and the newspaper-man is nothing. The newspaper absorbs the newspaper-man completely. Whatever the journalist does goes to the credit of the journal. I will venture the assertion that no person who reads this article can name the editorial writers of any New York newspaper, unless he may chance to be on the staff of that newspaper. Even the proprietors of newspapers do not know the authors of the various writings which grace their pages. They seldom care to know, except to disapprove. And if they do not know, how much less do the readers of newspapers know? The impersonality of journalism is a bar to that individual reputation so dear and so important to honest workers in every calling. In no other vocation do personal endeavor and achievement accrue so little to the credit of the individual.

But of all the material disadvantages of journalism as a career, the remoteness of the possibility of ever becoming a newspaper-proprietor is the most discouraging. The highest ambition of a true newspaper-man is to own a newspaper, or at least to have a controlling interest in a newspaper, for it is only under this condition that he

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can direct its policy. Here lies the fascination of journalism and here it rises to the height of a profession, to a height, indeed, above that of any other profession. The modern newspaper is the greatest power on earth. In comparison with it every other individual influence sinks into insignificance. To wield this power, to exert this influence is worth the labor, the worry, the sacrifice of a lifetime. "The glory of journalism," said the aged proprietor of a New York daily recently, "is to be able to help your friends and to fight your enemies; to promulgate the doctrines you love and to attack the shams you hate; to have in your hands always a weapon with which you can crush a man who is not similarly armed, and with which you can resist the onslaught of any publication whatsoever." There was a savage satisfaction in this selfish utterance which suggested the moral bluntness of some of the newspapers of to-day, but it expressed the power of the greatest factor in modern civilization and indicated the possibilities for good which might come from a broader and more Christian exercise of such a power. But how is the working newspaper-man to attain this goal? The magnitude of the capital necessary to start a daily newspaper in New York is in itself an almost insuperable obstacle. There are ten great daily newspaper-properties in the metropolis; there are five thousand working newspaper-men. If the man in control of each of these properties should be replaced by a working newspaper-man not now in control, there would be at least four thousand nine hundred and ninety journalists in the same condition they were before the change was made—the condition of hired men. They would still have to come at the beck and call of some one else, still have to go on working day in and day out for a limited weekly stipend, still have to live in the uncertainty of having no work on the morrow, still have to surrender their abilities, their energies and their lives to the newspaper, only to be dropped when it had absorbed all the good in them.

"What does the working newspaper-man expect?" the newspaper will ask. He expects nothing but his wages at the end of the week. He has agreed to give the newspaper so much labor for so much money, and he is man enough to carry out his contract without grumbling. If he does not like his trade, he can try some other. But don't tell him that he is a "professor," and above all don't lead any young man about to choose a life-vocation into journalism under a misapprehension of its conditions. Let him understand these thoroughly, and then if he would still be a journalist let him take his

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chance of finding employment in a field where the supply of raw material is always far in excess of the demand. If the opportunity should afford and he should disclose aptitude for newspaper-work, he will not find his lot so very hard so long as he has youth and strength. He will make a better living than he could as a clerk and it is possible he may become some day a managing editor or even a proprietor.

He will find, however, that there are some moral as well as material disadvantages in journalism. If he is a reporter, he may be assigned to interview the servants of a household with regard to the domestic differences of their master and mistress. If his instincts are those of a gentleman, his self-respect may outweigh his journalistic ambition and he will refuse the task. He will then in all probability be dismissed. This, however, will depend somewhat on the character of the newspaper for which he has engaged to work. If he should be unscrupulous and should succeed with the servants, his next assignment may be to play the spy on some lady or gentleman. Having done this, he will have established his claim to be considered a full-fledged "sneak" reporter and a disgrace to an honorable calling. But if he should refuse to do such work and should steadfastly maintain the just position that no journal has a right to ask an employe to do anything at the expense of his self-respect, he will still find many things to try his soul. He may be assigned to a banquet on an invitation sent to his newspaper, and be placed behind a screen while the gentlemanly and well-bred banqueters regale themselves. This mark of consideration for reporters has been shown already on more occasions than one in New York.

It may even be his good fortune to duplicate the following experience: A personal friend of the editor of one of our largest dailies gave a private reception which he was very anxious to have described at length in the next issue of the newspaper. A reporter was sent to the house. The servant ushered him into a closet where the silver was kept. He had not been there long when the mistress of the house entered, looked him over critically and turned away to question her husband as to who "that person" was in the silver-closet. The husband endeavored to explain that it was a reporter sent there to "write up" the reception. He had been seated in the silver-closet because there was no other place to put him out of sight of the company. This did not satisfy her and she demanded that the "person" should be sent away. The husband remonstrated, saying it was im-

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possible, as he had personally requested the editor to send the man to the house. All this was in the hearing of the reporter, but it did not prepare him for what happened immediately after. The woman flounced into the silver-closet again and gathering up all the spoons carried them away with her! Such experiences as these are not so common now as they were formerly, for the New York reporter has borne himself so well that he is treated with ordinary courtesy by respectable people.

In other quarters, he will discover among reputable folk a wholesome dread of newspaper-men, a dread inspired by heartless and inexcusable attacks upon private character. He will find temptations to dissipation constantly thrown in his way, for by a curious cerebration the average man has evolved the idea that the proper thing to do on meeting a newspaper-man is to ask him to drink. This is especially true of politicians. What is more dangerous still, the newspaper-man has to employ not infrequently some form of dissipation in order to obtain news. In addition to the expense so incurred, which the newspaper never thinks of sharing, the reporter must dress well and in all other ways appear as a gentleman. He is constantly thrown with men whose income is many times larger than his, but he cannot afford, more on account of his paper than of himself, to be mean or niggardly. The result of all this is that even on an income of forty or fifty dollars a week he can scarcely stretch his wage from one pay-day to another. He has to spend money to make money. And yet we hear that the newspaper-man is improvident! It is not true. The conditions of his business exact so great a tribute from his earnings that he has little left. The average newspaper-man would save money if he were not forced to spend it.

Another condition which grows out of the circumstances of his calling is that the newspaper-writer comes to lean so much upon the newspaper for financial support that any faculty for business other than writing becomes utterly dwarfed. As a result of this tendency, the writer who does not get out of journalism in the first ten years cannot get out of it at all. He becomes a mere animated writing-machine. He may be a Free Trade Democrat penning Protection editorials for a Republican newspaper, or *vice versâ*, but even if it occurs to him that there is anything wrong or inconsistent in that, it is his trade to write. If he were a cabinet-maker instead of a journalist, he could not hesitate on the ground of politics to fill an order for a table. He must view journalism in the same light.

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He has to fashion the best editorial he can without consideration of his own convictions on the subject presented. His only duty is to give value received for the money he is to get, to please his employer and thereby retain the privilege of earning enough money to buy food and clothing for his family. With the majority of newspaper-men, it is not a question of what kind of work they shall do, but a question of any kind of work. The newspaper often demands of the newspaper-man a service which the proprietor of a newspaper would never think of doing personally but which he sanctions and not infrequently orders. This service means humiliation, if not actual debasement and degradation; yet the newspaper-man is confronted with the alternative of doing it or of losing his place. If he has to consider himself only, he will refuse, for self-respect is better than money; but if the sustenance of a wife and children is imperilled, he may well hesitate.

It is only fair to say that not all newspapers systematically demand such debasing or degrading service. But the general principle is inexorable, that the employe must do what the newspaper demands or forfeit his place. This assumption of autocracy by the newspaper extends even to payment for work done. Take, for instance, the case of a reporter working at space-rates. His understanding is that he shall receive so much money for each column he writes and a certain stipulated sum for each hour of labor not productive of written matter. At the end of each week, he makes out an itemized bill of space and time charges. This bill may be and often is cut down materially, so that he receives for his week's work a sum of money less than that due him under the verbal agreement which induced him to undertake it. He has no redress, because the newspaper declares his charge was excessive and unjust. It is possible a court of law might sustain his claim, but the sum involved is so much less than the cost of a suit to recover that he lets it pass often without a murmur of protest. A still greater bar to legal insistence on his rights is the knowledge that such insistence will not only cost him his place on the newspaper immediately concerned but will prove a serious obstacle to employment on any other newspaper. The newspaper simply says, "You can take what we offer you, or you can leave"; and the offer is accepted because the newspaper-man knows that for every vacancy in journalism ten men are ready to try to fill it on any terms the newspaper may impose. Salaried men are subjected to a system of fines or suspensions which must

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likewise be accepted without question if employment is to be retained.

Journalism is a vocation in which unorganized labor is wholly at the mercy of capital. Newspaper-men are loth to acknowledge this truth. They hold themselves on a plane high above that where the self-preservation of labor has made trades-unions imperative. They rank journalism with theology and law and medicine, because they are prone to consider its essential qualifications rather than its limitations and compensation. They regard the mental development, the diversified knowledge and literary accomplishment so necessary to success, and turn away with disgust from any proposition even to compare it with a manual trade. They hate to acknowledge anything so anomalous as a trade in brains. But that is what journalism is—a trade where "gray-matter" takes the place of muscle, where the head is substituted for the hands. Individual workers of experience realize this fact in spite of themselves, but they do not permit themselves to understand it clearly. That old pet delusion of a "profession" rises up before them and they bow down and worship it as a fetish. Two or three spasmodic attempts in this country and in England to organize labor in journalism have been smothered with ridicule at the birth. I doubt whether a labor-union in journalism can ever be effected, for the very reason that it is a trade in brains.

And this brings me to a consideration of the remarkable fact that a vast majority of the capital invested in journalism was not made from journals or furnished by journalists. Nearly all the money with which newspapers, successful and unsuccessful, have been started in New York, has come from sources entirely alien to journalism itself. Hence we often find the proprietor of a large newspaper, the man actually controlling its destiny and indicating its policy, in the person of an individual who never had any training whatever as a journalist. But he has had that which few journalists ever attain even in their own vocation, a business-training. He knows how to buy and sell, whether it be white paper or ink or brains. The fact that he may not know the first rudiments of the English language, that sociology and political science are as incomprehensible to him as the hereafter, does not affect the case at all. He can hire men at so much a week for all that sort of thing, just as he could hire skilled artisans if he were a manufacturer of machines or railroad-cars or jewelry. Editorial writers or critics or copy-readers or reporters are so numerous and so cheap that his whole

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editorial staff can be changed in a day if he deems it necessary. He despises the literary accomplishments of these men and therefore the men themselves, because he measures all men by their ability to accumulate money and cannot see advantage in anything not convertible into money. These men may be his superiors in all but money-getting, but they are his docile hirelings, and his contempt is open. To him, the "business-end" of a newspaper is of chief importance, and if he does not attend to that himself he is willing at all times to pay more for a business-manager than for an editor-in-chief. It is a favorite boast of one newspaper-proprietor of this stripe that he can hire all the editors he wants for ten dollars a week! This, of course, is a slight exaggeration, although the average pay of the writers in his employ does not greatly exceed that sum; but his theory of journalism—that newspapers are made in the business-offices and that the editorial departments are mere adjuncts for carrying out money-making schemes hatched elsewhere—is widely shared.

The domination of the business-office over the editorial department is a development of recent years; the natural consequence of the gradual evolution of journalism into a purely money-making business. There was a time when the salaried editor despised the counting-room. His ideal newspaper embodied a loftiness of aim which could not be affected by any sordid motive. He held that there were certain reservations upon which the business-office should not trespass. An advertisement should appear in the unmistakable form of an advertisement and in the columns set aside for advertisements. Editorial opinion should be above and beyond all considerations except those of right and justice and the general good. The presentation of news should be unbiassed and uncolored, the single, unvarying rule being to give the facts as nearly as possible. In short, to borrow the words of a distinguished New York editor, there should be no sailing under false colors. This was the old theory, the high, chivalrous declaration of journalistic principle which the new school of journalism, the purely business school, is willing enough to accept even if it does not always practise it, except in the matter of advertising. In that, the new school has wrought such a revolution that the salaried editor now lends himself cheerfully and even enthusiastically to the attainment of the one objective point —money-getting.

The old school pretended to sell nothing but a certain space allotted to advertising. The new school can see no reason for such

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restriction. If it is right to sell advertising space in one part of the newspaper that a man may puff his wares, why not in another? This wholesale barter does not necessarily mean debasement. But it does mean that journalistic traditions are shattered and that in the new school the business-office is paramount. Therefore, if a man would be successful to the highest degree in journalism to-day, he must know the business-office. Without this knowledge he may attain success as an employe, but never as an employer. Without it, he can never hope to retain the ownership of a newspaper. Working newspaper-men, the laborers in the literary side of the vineyard, have given too little heed to this important fact. They have been too long and too thoroughly saturated with contempt for the "business end." If the money-getter of the journal despised them for their lack of thrift, they doubly despised him for his methods, even when their sustenance depended on his success. This has been chiefly because they have no business-training. They are dependents from the beginning, and their dependence increases with their years of service.

A well-known editorial writer, now in New York, once made a contract with a Boston newspaper-owner to occupy the chair of managing editor for five years. His compensation was to be a fixed weekly salary and five thousand dollars' worth of stock at the termination of the contract. After he had served three years, the proprietor of the newspaper made things so uncomfortable for him that he offered to leave if three thousand dollars in stock or its equivalent were given to him. "You can get out now," said the proprietor, "and without any stock or any equivalent." "But my contract calls for the stock and I demand it," the editor insisted. "Take your contract to a lawyer," sneered the proprietor, "and let him see what it is worth." The editor submitted the contract to the late General Benjamin F. Butler, a personal friend of long standing. When General Butler had glanced over the instrument he turned and asked, "Did you sign this contract?" "I did." "Were you sober and in the possession of your normal senses?" "I was." "Do you know what I think of you?" "No, General, what do you think of me?" "I think you are a journalistic genius and a business jackass! Your contract isn't worth the paper on which it is written!" The contract stipulated that the editor's compensation depended on the "satisfaction" of the proprietor. This is a fair sample of the business acumen and practice of the average newspaper-worker, and General Butler's terse characterization is only too applicable to the craft as a whole.

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To attain pre-eminent success in journalism to-day, a man must have an acute appreciation and a competent knowledge of both the "business end" and the "editorial end." He must be able to combine the two. His mind must be broad enough to grasp all sides of journalism, versatile enough to change instantly from one phase to another, and subtle enough to understand the minutest details. In the past decade we have seen one such mind loom up from the Western horizon and revolutionize metropolitan journalism. It may be contended with some justice that this revolution has entailed in some respects a questionable benefit; but the revolution is here, and the fruit of it is the largest circulation and the greatest advertising patronage in America. Within the last two years another mind, similar to that already alluded to, but working on other lines, has made its impress on the newspaper world. The experiments of the latter are yet in their infancy; but they are so numerous, so varied, so resourceful, that all question of their ultimate success has already been abandoned.

It will have been observed that in writing this paper I have had in mind particularly the daily journalism of New York. In other cities, the newspaper-worker's condition may vary slightly according to local environment, but the essential principles are the same everywhere in America.

Briefly, the disadvantages of journalism as a permanent vocation are the limitation to income, the insecurity of place, the comparative impossibility of ever working except for hire, the impersonality of the work, the absolute power which the newspaper has over the newspaper-man, the constant drain upon both mental and physical forces, and the fact that old age is almost as fatal to employment as death itself. Another serious disadvantage, and by no means the least, is the jealousy and envy which obtain among newspaper-men. Many of the changes in place are due to the wire-pulling, the backbiting and the petty conspiracies of the men themselves. The ambition of the average newspaper-man does not reach to the proprietorship of a newspaper. But it does reach to some place with more power and more salary than that he occupies. Advancement is what he seeks, and advancement can be had only by a change of place, and a change of place can be had only with the consent of the proprietor or his direct representative. The proprietor thus becomes a sort of despot, at whose feet his vassals sue for favor and to influence whom plots and counterplots are laid until the

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honest, straightforward, guileless man is so sick of such underhand work that he is all too willing to quit the contest and seek some other field. Hence it is that the best places are not always held by the best men. The courtier is often more successful, temporarily at least, than the journalist.

The advantages of journalism as a vocation, as I have hinted above, depend largely on the point of view. It is probable that the lower grades of physicians, lawyers and preachers do not earn greater monetary compensation for their labors than newspaper-men. The same statement applies to the lower grades of men in commercial pursuits. Hence it will be seen that in the mere matter of furnishing a livelihood, journalism does not compare unfavorably with other vocations. But it is to the higher grades, to the boundless opportunities afforded to superior talents and unflagging industry, that a man must look in choosing his life-calling; and in these journalism without a proprietary interest suffers in comparison. Moreover, while there are innumerable worthless men in other vocations, men who lower the general average, there are no worthless men in journalism. It has no place for dullards or laggards. Such may enter, but they are speedily discovered and mercilessly dropped. The result is that journalists as a class are intelligent, educated, earnest, industrious; and it is not the least advantage of the calling to be with these and of these. Another advantage of journalism lies in the character of the work the journalist has to do. The world is his field of labor, mankind his constant study. Under these conditions, labor never becomes insipid or uninteresting. Each rising sun brings with it a new turn of the kaleidoscope of human affairs, as rich in color, as wonderful in grouping, as that of the day which is gone. There is always an opportunity, even for the humblest, to do some good; and if the mighty power of the newspaper is only rightly directed and justly exercised, there is an exultation in achievement which is shared by every active agent in its production.

J. W. KELLER.

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DO NEWSPAPERS NOW GIVE THE NEWS?

WHEN Dr. Benjamin Rush died, in 1813, he bequeathed his books with a considerable endowment to the Philadelphia Library, upon condition that no part of the fund should ever be expended in the purchase of newspapers, because he was convinced that newspapers were "teachers of disjointed thinking." When Charles Dickens was in America in 1842, that superfluously aggressive critic thought an appropriate name for the typical American newspaper would be "The Daily Sewer." The other day, Mr. William C. Todd, of Atkinson, New Hampshire, gave fifty thousand dollars to the Boston Public Library and directed that the income from this fund should be spent to buy newspapers to be kept in a suitable apartment in the building where all citizens and strangers can "enter freely and read." Mr. Todd had previously given ten thousand dollars to the library in Newburyport, Massachusetts, persuaded that it was better to provide newspapers for people to read than books, many of which remained on the library shelves for generations with their leaves uncut. About a month ago I heard a lawyer of note say that with the exception of one journal there was not a single daily paper in New York fit to go into a gentleman's house; and he was quick to add, "and that is so unamiable and quarrelsome that its influence cannot be of the right kind."

Now, what do these incidents imply? Were the newspapers very bad in Dr. Rush's time? Were they even worse in 1842 when Dickens paid his first visit to America? Are they so much improved now that they are worthy of special study in public libraries? Are they in their improved condition so filled with scandals and gossip and accounts of crime that they are unworthy to enter a gentleman's house?

In Dr. Rush's day, the newspapers certainly did not amount to much and were incomparably less amusing, entertaining, enterprising and instructive than they are to-day; but probably they were not more conducive of "disjointed thinking." In 1842, when they horrified Dickens with their license, they were not very different from

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the newspapers Rush knew. For forty years after Dickens's visit—that is, until about 1882—the American newspapers expanded, gradually becoming broader in tone and generally more comprehensive. During this forty years there were no marked eras in the gradual process of evolution from the purely provincial press of the earlier days of the Republic; but since 1881 or 1882 the change has been very great and rapid. This change has been mainly due to a cheapening process, to an idea which originated with the former managers of the "New York Times." This newspaper was very prosperous and was justly held in great esteem on account of its public service in prosecuting to justice the criminal combination known as "the Tweed ring." The price of the paper was three cents; its reduction to two cents seriously curtailed its income without materially increasing the circulation. This proved that there was really no public demand for the reduction in price and that it was a mistake merely from a business point of view. Nevertheless, other papers quickly followed the example of the "Times" in this reduction of price, and the experience of all was, I believe, the same—a material reduction of income, with no compensating advantage. Then began another cheapening process to cut down expenses. The effect of this was plainly observable in all the papers.

About this time the "New York World" became the property of a prominent Western newspaper-man whose innovations, both as to giving a larger quantity of reading-matter and illustrating the text with pictures, were copied sooner or later by all his contemporaries, with the result that the papers of to-day are anywhere from three to five times as large as they were before.

Suppose we examine representative New York newspapers of twelve years ago and compare them with the same papers of this year. For example, we will take the "Sun," the "World," "Times" and "Tribune," of Sunday, April 17, 1881, and compare them with the same papers of Sunday, April 16, 1893. I wish to remark here that I selected this date in April merely by chance and not because I was aware of anything in the papers of that day making them at all extraordinary. Indeed, it may be they were more commonplace than usual, for it happened that the day before there were no "carnivals of crime" or "bloody butcheries" anywhere within telegraphic reach. The Sunday "Sun" and "World" of the date given in 1881 were each eight-page, seven-column papers. The "Tribune" had twelve pages of six columns each, and the "Times" sixteen pages of seven

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columns each. Men remarked twelve years ago that these were very large papers; but on the corresponding Sunday of 1893 the "Tribune" was just twice as large, having twenty-four pages of six columns each; the "Times" had twenty pages with seven columns each; the "Sun" had twenty-eight pages of seven columns each, and the "World" forty-four pages of eight columns each. This was expansion in earnest. But if the quality of the reading-matter had not suffered by this expansion and if it were not bad before the expansion began, then probably no one has the right to complain.

For the purpose of comparing the various kinds of subjects treated in the papers of the different dates, I have made the following table—

COLUMNS OF READING-MATTER IN NEW YORK NEWSPAPERS, APRIL 17, 1881, AND APRIL 16, 1893.

Subject.	Tribune, 1881.	Tribune, 1893.	World, 1881.	World, 1893.	Times, 1881.	Times, 1893.	Sun, 1881.	Sun, 1893.
Editorial	5.00	5.00	4.75	4.00	6.00	5.00	4.00	4.00
Religious	2.00	0.00	0.75	0.00	1.00	0.00	0.50	1.00
Scientific	1.00	0.75	0.00	2.00	1.00	0.00	0.00	2.50
Political	3.00	3.75	0.00	10.50	1.00	4.00	1.00	3.50
Literary	15.00	5.00	1.00	2.00	18.00	12.00	5.75	6.00
Gossip	1.00	23.00	1.00	63.50	.50	16.75	2.00	13.00
Scandals	0.00	1.50	0.00	1.50	1.00	2.50	0.00	2.00
Sporting	1.00	6.50	2.50	16.00	3.00	10.00	0.50	17.50
Fiction	0.00	7.00	1.50	6.50	1.00	1.50	0.00	11.50
Historical	2.50	2.50	2.75	4.00	2.50	1.50	4.25	14.00
Music and Drama	2.50	4.00	1.50	11.00	4.00	7.00	0.00	3.50
Crimes and Criminals.	0.00	0.50	0.00	6.00	0.00	1.00	0.00	0.00
Art	1.00	1.00	3.00	3.00	2.00	0.00	0.25	1.25

The true significance of this table, of course, lies in the percentage relation of the different subjects to the total number of columns printed. Thus, while the "Times" on this particular Sunday in 1881 contained eighteen columns of literary matter, or sixteen per cent of the total space in the whole paper, the literary matter in the corresponding Sunday of this year is twelve columns, or only nine and six-tenths per cent of the total space. The "gossip" in the "Times" in twelve years increased from four-tenths of one per cent of the total space to eleven and seven-tenths per cent of the space; that is, from one-half a column it had grown during the twelve years to sixteen-and-three-quarter columns. The religious matter had dropped from one column in 1881, to nothing in 1893. Scientific matters decreased exactly in the same way, while the scandals which

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filled only one column in 1881 now needed two columns and a half to hold them. The sporting news grew from three to ten columns; art criticism dropped from two columns to nothing.

In the "Sun" of 1881, on the particular Sunday alluded to, there were no scandals printed; on the corresponding Sunday of 1893 the scandals filled two columns of the paper, or about one per cent of the total space; and the gossip increased from two to thirteen columns. The literary matter in the "Sun" remained about the same, while more space was given to religious, scientific and art subjects.

The "Tribune" in 1881 had two columns of religious matter and not a line in 1893. The scandals, however, which were nothing in 1881 had increased to a column and a half, while the gossip had grown from one column to twenty-three, and so filled more than sixteen per cent of the space of the paper. Sporting, too, grew from one column to six columns and a half, while in both years editorial comments and art criticism remained the same.

The "World" in 1881 had no scandals and only a column of gossip. In 1893 the scandals filled a column and a half and the gossip sixty-three columns and a half! The music and drama in the former year required a column and a half, while eleven columns were used in 1893. It is likely that fully eight of these eleven columns devoted to the music and drama should be credited to gossip. In 1881, the "World" had no stories of crimes and criminals; in the paper of April 16, 1893, six columns were devoted to these subjects.

From this analysis of the contents of the papers of the dates mentioned, everyone can draw a plain inference as to whether the expansion of the newspaper-press of New York has been upon lines calculated to benefit the public. A great many of the things mentioned as mere gossip and spoken of as scandals would be totally unfit to reproduce. The Sunday "Sun" I happened to hit on for examination, is not at all more lurid than usual; indeed, the supplements are not enlivened with the usual pictures showing the hosiery and other underwear of women of various nations, together with dissertations on the same. But on the first page of the paper we have telegraphed to us from London an account of the trial of an English nobleman for an alleged indecent assault; then an account of how a young woman was said to have been made drunk by her lover; then the moving tale of an attack in the street by the wife of a barkeeper on the barkeeper's mistress. But the first page has still another sensation, absolutely indescribable, and about as fair and

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legitimate a piece of news as might have been obtained by sending reporters to the Bloomingdale Insane Asylum to interview the inmates—a nice page for a wife or daughter to scan at breakfast, before going to church. Such a story was never before, I believe, printed in any New York newspaper that made any pretence to respectability. At any rate, I have searched the files in vain for any previous report at once so objectionable and unnecessary. The "Sun" files of twelve years ago contain none such, and there is nothing approaching it between 1881 and now. The "Tribune" of April 16, 1893, printed this story. The "World" did not,—until the next day!

The new "Times" did not touch this case; but on the fifth page there is a headline in letters a quarter of an inch long, "Shock to Brooklyn Society"; and we are told that ten days before the son of a well-known man had been married in Dr. Talmage's church before the whole congregation, but that his father was not present. The shock consisted in the father's absence. The reporter evidently worked on this case with great perseverance and tells us that "what became of everybody concerned after the ceremony was over nobody is certain of"; then, naming the bride, the reporter says, who she is "or her mother or her sister, nobody seems to be certain of." This shock to Brooklyn society could not be dropped at once, so it is taken up by the Monday paper, where we learn that the bride and groom were at the house of the bride's mother and that after the wedding everybody who had any right whatever to know about the young people, knew exactly where they were all the time. The "Times," this Sunday morning, also made another effort towards distinction in the newer journalism in reporting a divorce-case in a very original way. Part of the case was heard in court, but this was not conclusive enough for the reporter, so he went out and took the evidence on the other side. The editor promptly gave judgment in the case in the headlines over the reporter's story, and of course the evidence the reporter had gathered entirely outweighed that which had been sworn to in court.

Now turn back to twelve years before. None of the papers were then considered to be over nice in their scruples about sensations, crimes, scandals or gossip. But in all four of the papers under consideration there were only *four-and-one-half* columns of gossip, and *one* column of scandal, against *one hundred and sixteen and one quarter* columns of gossip this year and *seven and a half* columns of scandal. The gossip this year usurps the place of the literary matter

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printed in 1881, and articles about crimes and criminals take the places formerly occupied by religious and scientific matter.

Twelve years ago, the people in the East very justly looked upon the papers in the more bustling Western cities with something like surprised horror. In those papers, and in the Chicago papers particularly, quantity was the first consideration and sensationalism the next. Indeed, these seemed the only considerations. But in these regards there has been so great a change in the New York papers in twelve years that they now far surpass the Chicago papers, while the Chicago papers have distinctly improved in a better direction. Particularly in discussing scandals and crimes based upon the breaking of the seventh commandment are the Chicago newspapers now much more scrupulous than their New York contemporaries. I have been told by Chicago news editors, and I have verified the statement, that lurid stories of crime and scandal sent from proofs of New York papers by telegraph to Chicago almost invariably have to be toned down before they are considered fit for publication in the Western city. That statement of fact will astonish no one who is acquainted with the newspapers of both towns, but it will seem almost incredible to those mistaken persons in the East who have believed, without knowing exactly why, that everything in Chicago was more vulgar and more coarse than anywhere else. If any one having such doubts will take two or three New York papers and two or three Chicago papers of the same date and compare them, then that person will see that this statement has been made advisedly. But it must not be understood that the claim is here made that the Chicago papers are models of propriety and good taste. In my opinion, they are nothing of the kind. They are not even so good as the New York papers of twelve years ago; but they are very much nicer and cleaner than the Chicago papers of that time or than the New York papers of to-day. So while there has been a distinct deterioration and decadence in the New York newspaper press in the last dozen years, the improvement in Chicago has been steady and noteworthy, and this notwithstanding the introduction and general adoption there of the illustrations that do not illustrate.

There is a conventional phrase—"a newspaper is the history of the world for a day"—that is more or less believed in. Nothing could be falser than this. Our newspapers do not record the really serious happenings, but only the sensations, the catastrophes of history. Said John Stuart Mill in his "Essay on Socialism"—

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"Sudden effects in history are generally superficial. Causes which go deep down into the roots of future events produce the most serious parts of their effect only slowly, and have, therefore, time to become a part of the familiar order of things before general attention is called to the changes they are producing; since, when the changes do become evident, they are often not seen by cursory observers to be in any peculiar manner connected with the cause. The remoter consequences of a new political fact are seldom understood when they occur, except when they have been appreciated beforehand."

If the New York newspapers ever recorded history accurately and with any appreciation of the significance of the events occurring, they do it less now than heretofore, for now everything is so covered with the millinery of sensationalism that none but the wisest can detect the truth beneath. The depth of the headline conveys to the reader the editor's estimate of the importance and value of the news recorded; and if the editor be inspired only by the motive to amuse, entertain and excite his readers, it is readily to be seen how he leads his followers not only into the regions of disjointed thinking but into absolutely wrong thinking. And that such is the motive of the editors in New York at the present time I believe the little table I have compiled and the analysis of it will show. Though the present tendency is in the wrong direction, I do not believe it will much longer continue so. In no other field of endeavor is cheapness—a sacrifice of quality for quantity—now esteemed of the first importance. In art, in architecture, in music, in the drama, the tendency is the other way; and we may expect before very long that decent people will demand that the news be placed before them, not in sheets full of unclean things, but with the good taste and moderation characteristic of a high and pure civilization.

JNO. GILMER SPEED.

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A WORD TO THE CRITICS OF NEWSPAPERS.

"I AM not in politics—I am in morals," said Charles Sumner once, in that sententious, complacent way of his. If the modern censors of the press could have their wish, the newspapers would not be in the business of printing news, but in morals. Somewhere between the Church and the political reformer, I judge, the newspaper would take its stand. Martin Luther on the one hand and Cavour on the other would be its models; but those who hold that a newspaper should always be scolding at something or somebody set up John Knox as the editor's great exemplar. It is conceded, I believe, that the Christian religion shall still be ranked as the greatest regenerating force at work in human society, but the press must come next, and not far behind. It has not yet been proposed that newspaper editors shall take orders or vows, but it is insisted that they shall have no knowledge of the ways of this wicked world, or if they have such knowledge they shall scrupulously hide it from their readers. Sin and crime will continue their ravages, of course, and the presumably righteous will now and then slip or fall, but the newspapers must look the other way. And there must be nothing trivial or frivolous in the newspaper. This is, or is supposed by the critics of the press to be, a very serious world, a sad and quite unhappy world, indeed. Therefore the newspapers should concern themselves only with large and solemn matters. A newspaper must not make mistakes. This rule is a major canon, and as mistakes are assumed to be needless, they are to be attributed to the editor's malice or to his ignorance. Finally, there must be no pictures, for pictures are an abomination in the sight of the censors, and that settles the case against them.

When in some remote era the press shall pass all the challenges of its critics, when the newspaper shall be a potent agency of righteousness, irreproachable in matter, exalted, inerrant, and unillustrated, this world will doubtless have made great millennial advancement. In the present age, however, a journal of this ideal perfection would find itself in such incongruous surroundings that

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its editor, unless he were devoid of the "news sense," would be made miserable in the struggle between his moral duty and his carnal opportunities, its publisher would be in continual pain, and its cashier in continual idleness. In every period in the history of journalism some newspapers have made a heroic effort to "leave all meaner things" and soar against the sun, or at least have talked much and loudly of the effort they were making. But it makes the feeling heart sick to note the variance between their practice and their profession. I apprehend, therefore, that the castigators of the newspaper press have set up standards that are either wrong or untimely. They would make the newspapers what no considerable or controlling number of their readers want them to be, and what they cannot be until society has become something very different from what it is now. For my part, I have always believed the professional railers against the press to be very bad judges of what a newspaper ought to be, and they are too frequently guilty of the injustice of judging the entire newspaper press by its worst examples, and of denouncing the whole for the vices practised by a few.

These undiscriminating censors are without authority or credentials. They do not represent—in fact, they directly misrepresent—the opinions of the great body of intelligent men and women who read newspapers. Among the mass of newspaper readers I do not find any warrant for the assertions made with such flippancy by these reckless critics that newspapers are everywhere regarded as untrustworthy and debasing. The statement is not true, nor does it approximate the truth. The "average reader" is not at all of the censor's mind. The "old subscriber" regards his newspaper with a feeling of affection and almost of reverence. He has taken it from its first issue. Every day or every week through the long years it has brought to him the news of the world. It has gladdened his heart with eloquent praise of the leaders and the candidates of his own party, and has delighted him by the sound drubbings it has administered to the leaders and the candidates of the other party. Upon most public matters he has accepted its admonitions as a son accepts the words of a father. He owes countless pleasant hours to the literary charm or graceful fancy of some favorite writer or correspondent, many a hearty laugh to the humorist's column, and to the teeming pages he has faithfully read a growing store of information that could have come to him in no other way. It has even, upon occasion, printed his "letters to the editor," and so won a new title

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to his esteem. Through all these years his newspaper has been an intimate part of his life. He knows all its views, its every peculiarity, and he admires and loves them all. And now in his old age, by the evening lamp in his country home or at the breakfast table in his city house, he unfolds with ever fresh eagerness and reads with undiminished respect the newspaper that all his life has been his guide, counsellor, and friend. Let one of the chronic railers against the press lift up his plaint in the hearing of such a loyal newspaper reader and he would fare as the scolding Thersites fared when the staff of Ulysses smote upon his back and shoulders.

No doubt the newspapers ought to be a great deal wiser and better than they are. I hasten to make this declaration of doctrine lest some press censor should conclude that I am quite content with the press as it is and that I am contending for its exemption from moral obligations—that is, that, while it may not be immoral, it may lawfully be unmoral, not caring particularly whether society goes to the dogs or not. That is not my purpose, and I hope I have not given any one reason for supposing that it was my purpose. I should be glad to see the newspapers win and hold a title to higher public respect and confidence. I should be glad to see them, within the limits of reasonable possibility, rid of their blemishes and blunders. At the same time, I should like to see great lawyers lose fewer cases and great doctors fewer patients, great judges less frequently reverse each other's decisions and experienced business men less commonly make erroneous prognostications concerning profit and loss. Being a member of the craft, I dislike to think myself engaged in an ignoble and vicious calling. It comforts me, therefore, firmly to believe that the press is as virtuous and commendable as most other institutions set up by peccant and fallible man. The newspapers are as good as the age and the world in which they are published. It would be a monstrous breach of the law of evolution if they were much better. Nevertheless, the berating and denunciation of the press has become a sort of cult in this country, having its prelates and its preachers, self-ordained and very earnest, and its sectaries, not numerous, but faithful as an echo. The thing is a schism in its origin and nature, I think, and will die out, unity being restored by the return of the schismatics into the great body of men and women who refuse to believe that editors are rogues and newspapers a pestilence. Lowell said of Burke that "no man who ever wrote English, except perhaps Mr. Ruskin, more habitually mistook his own personal

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likes and dislikes, tastes and distastes for general principles." In a critic this is a serious, I may say a disqualifying, fault. If the gentlemen who see no good thing in the press have this defect, it explains why the world pays so little heed to them.

Some years ago a clerical critic of the press declared from the pulpit that "it has a short root and no accumulations." I never could guess his meaning, but it seems probable that he meant to say that the press has no record of achievements. That is not the view held by the public in general, and it is not the true view. The daily publication of the news is the greatest, the incomparable service of the press; but aside from that, the achievements of newspapers by which men and communities and nations have been made better and happier seem to me to constitute a record as worthy as it is incontestable. To consider the record of only one city, the successful search for Livingstone must surely be reckoned an "accumulation" for Mr. Bennett's newspaper. Everybody is tired of hearing about the assault upon and overthrow of the Tweed ring. The illustration is trite, but the achievement gave the newspaper that overthrew the ring the right to say, with Othello: "I've done the State some service." Twenty years later the same newspaper took by the throat a man who was squandering the resources and mismanaging the affairs of the great life insurance company of which he was President, and dragged him from his seat, though under peril of two libel suits for damages aggregating $1,750,000. These public services may safely be called "accumulations." The "Tribune's" fresh-air-fund labors constitute a continuing beneficence of the highest and most useful type. I should be glad to know that any of the gentlemen who say such unkind things about the newspapers have done as much good to their kind. The "Sun's" attack on the Washington ring, recalled to memory by the recent death of the judge who shielded its editor from the lawless vengeance of the ring, was a service to the country and, though unacknowledged and doubtless unwelcome, to the party then in power, which was in peril of complete demoralization.

A more recent instance of the power of the press to do great public service is afforded by the "New York Times's" telegraphic canvass of the Senate and House of Representatives upon the proposed repeal of the Sherman act. The results of that canvass, showing a large probable majority for the repeal, were cabled to London, and their publication in the London "Times" of June 19 and in the other London

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papers greatly facilitated the obtaining of sterling loans here and gave relief to New York merchants at a time when the rates for money ranged from ten to seventy per cent. In countless strifes against municipal corruption and against political bosses and party machines, in exposures of official malfeasance, in prophetic warnings of evils to come from unwise executive or legislative acts, in unwearying exhortation against political and financial follies, and in the promotion of public or charitable undertakings, the press has demonstrated its high utility and put its title to the possession of "accumulations" beyond all contest.

The bitterness of some of the assailants of the press is due probably to a misconception of the province of a newspaper. If there were in the world no persons save those whose minds dwell constantly upon the loftier problems of society and the finer truths of philosophy, the newspaper would be very different from what it is now. But taking the world as it is, which is the way editors have to take it, the publication of a newspaper devoted entirely to exalted themes is commercially impossible. Personally I am glad of it, for such a newspaper would be tough reading, and its writers would be the most miserable of men. Let me say, however, that a newspaper that intentionally and as a matter of policy purveys matter acceptable to low and vulgar tastes, a newspaper that is habitually unclean, sensational, untrustworthy, and ill-bred, deserves all the denunciations that the most violent critics of the press may visit upon it. Lay on, gentlemen, and spare not. But pray discriminate. Don't accuse a newspaper of pandering to low tastes because it prints matter intended for the edification of persons not in your set. There are hundreds of persons in this city to whom tennis is a bore, baseball a weariness, yachting an unknown realm, and horse-racing a gateway to the bottomless pit. But there are hundreds of thousands to whom all these or some of them are agreeable pastimes.

Healthy Americans for the most part are interested in sports. A newspaper must take account of this great portion of the population who demand sporting news, and whose demand is so reasonable and innocent that every newspaper now prints this information fully and carefully. Yet this is one of the offences that glare in the eyes of the critics. Moreover, every newspaper that has or aspires to any considerable circulation must print every day a great multitude of items of news that for many of its readers have little or no interest and to some seem quite unworthy the space they occupy. The

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number of men and women who take no interest in the proceedings of Congress, who don't care to know what the Legislature may be at, who find the tariff an intolerable nuisance, and the silver question a bore, and who can get along comfortably without knowing anything about great public affairs, is much larger than their highly-educated fellow-mortals suspect. Yet these persons are mostly of orderly lives, simple tastes, and innocent minds. They have their pursuits and their pleasures, and they want to read about their pursuits and their pleasures in the newspapers. They have an appetite, also, for almost any gossip or happening that is of contemporaneous human interest and not beyond their range of sympathy and understanding. Is it sinful, is it debasing, is it vulgar, to print news readable and acceptable to this audience, provided the matter printed is not immoral or improper? I do not think so. This class of persons constitutes a very large proportion of the population of every town or city. They are entitled to consideration from the newspapers. They are respectable, and the news that interests them is respectable news, though in point of historical importance it usually ranks some distance below announcements of the abdication of sovereigns and the discovery of new and valuable laws governing the action of tides and the behavior of planets. But for printing such news the press is denounced for giving up so much space to "trash."

Newspaper men are not wiser than other men of similar training and powers. But some newspaper men know their own business well enough to know that a newspaper managed to please the more unreasonable members of the priesthood of critics would be a ghastly failure. Fair, reasonable, constructive criticism is welcome and useful. If a newspaper editor is sensible, he will weigh carefully suggestions made in a friendly and helpful spirit. If he is a serious man and conscientious, he will heed well all criticism that brings more plainly into his view the great responsibility that his office puts upon him. But he may exact of his critics human sympathy, breadth of view, and some little knowledge of the conditions under which newspapers are made.

C. R. Miller.

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ART AND SHODDY: A REPLY TO CRITICISMS.

SURPRISE has been expressed by some on both sides of the Atlantic, that one who is so often called an optimist, and who certainly looks forward with enthusiastic hope to a great development of every form of human life, should now, in three papers addressed to American readers, have spoken of a certain decadence as visible to-day in our poetry, our romance, our art. It is true, that I have been showing examples of a certain slackness in creative force, sundry morbid tendencies, an obvious state of chaos, and some false prophets in our midst; and those whose business in the great Fair is chiefly to beat gongs and to shout to the crowd, have been calling out "Here is a wicked pessimist, here is a cynic:—hurry up you poets, novelists, and painters, and fall upon this sour old fellow, who tells you that you are played out, and have got to take a back seat!" And more to the same effect in the peculiar language of their very popular art.

With all the convictions which I hold forcing on me great hopes in the ultimate future, any sense of disappointment I may feel in the present, is only a passing mood, and relates to special causes at work for a time. We live, it is plain, in an age of transition; we are trying new lines of activity; and are making some crucial experiments. We are rapidly casting off traditions and beliefs, and are eagerly searching about for new beliefs, new canons—which it is but too obvious that we have not found, or at least that we cannot agree that we have found. Many cry, Lo here, Lo there! many shout, *Eureka;* but the world smiles and shakes its head, and waits. I have tried to point out that we must wait a little longer, and that many an *Eureka* is decidedly premature. And I will now indicate some of the adverse causes which retard us, and why we have need of caution and patience in our forecast. With an unshaken confidence in the resources of human nature, whatever I see to dishearten us has reference to none but temporary causes.

Again, some of those to whom I fear I am known but in a very distant and casual way, have wondered that I should take any interest in poetry, romance, or art; and how one whose main business for twenty years past has lain with the doctrines of Auguste Comte,

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should now be presuming to talk about verses and novels and painting. So far as Comte is concerned, nothing is more striking than the vast importance which he assigns to imaginative power, so that in his *Library* of chosen books he gives one fifth to poetry, romance, and art, and in his *Calendar* of chosen heroes he has given to these nearly one fourth of the whole. High, broad, and pure Art, in all its various modes whether of words, of form, or of sounds, is bound up with the nobility of human life. Decadence in art is a sure sign of some organic change taking place in our moral sense. Healthy art is the outward and visible sign of an inward and spiritual growth. And men who would smile to be told that our age is too eager after wealth, too prone to worship public success, and greedy after coarse forms of luxury, are moved when they see these moral disorders poisoning the very arts of daily life.

There are very plain tendencies of a general kind which are not favorable to the higher forms of imaginative work. If there is one thing which is more than another peculiar to our own age, it is that it is an age of specialism. In science, in sociology, as in practical things, the most curious subdivision of employment has become the rule. Histories of a single country over a few years fill many volumes, and occupy exactly the same time in composition as the events occupied in transaction. A great reputation in natural history is achieved by a life-long study of one species of *coleoptera*. He is a very learned man who knows even the literature of a single nation and of any moderate number of centuries. A painter spends a long and laborious life in reproducing one class of scene or subject. I will not say that specialism is otherwise than essential, nor am I prepared to deny that it is the strength of our knowledge. But it is most antipathetic to Art. Art is eminently synthetic. It combines, transfigures, and crystallizes everything it touches. Art means unity of conception; and specialism means disparate and dispersive observation.

It is in vain then to look for any very great art, either in literature or in the special arts of form, under the reign of universal Specialism. Music and poetry are not so closely dependent on the visible present. But prose romance, the drama, painting, sculpture, architecture, even acting and dress, cannot free themselves from the environment of dry and precise rule, of minute subdivision of opinion and knowledge. Omniscient criticism, fastidious taste, microscopic learning, surround them with the cold curious stare of British

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dowagers in a drawing-room. Giotto, Leonardo, Michael Angelo, Holbein, Raffaelle, were architects, sculptors, or decorators, as well as painters: Velazquez, Rubens, Rembrandt, were men of splendid culture and spacious life, who could clothe every aspect of the visible world with a deep glow of meaning and beauty. An "artist," in the *cinque-cento*, meant one who saw human life in a higher light than common men, and who could teach men the dignity of their own existence. If Raffaelle to-morrow were to paint a new *School of Athens* a hundred critics would tell him that his archæology was all wrong, and his philosophy hardly up to pass in the "Little-Go." And as to the historic pictures of Veronese and Rubens, every schoolboy would be laughing at some anachronism, and would write to the *Times* to show that the Romans knew nothing of *cheiton* and *chlamys*, nor did Greeks ever wear *paludamentum* and *caligæ*. We know so much about the history of architecture that we build an Imperial Institute or a World's Fair with many different "styles" pieced together, like a patch-work quilt, as if they were geologic specimens in a glass case. Our historic tragedies are wonderful lessons in the comparative History of Costume; and Mr. Irving, if not always audible as an elocutionist, is always faultless as an antiquarian. One cannot have everything at once. Vast and exact learning, critical purism, and dispersive studies are fatal to the forked lightning flash of great art. We have still men nobly struggling to give some unity to art—Sir Frederic Leighton, William Morris, G. F. Watts, Whistler, and others who do something more than turn out replicas of a bit of blue sea or a favorite cow. We shall no doubt again have an age when Synthesis will weigh more than Analysis, and Conception of the Whole more than Observation of the Parts. We shall have again an age of coherent ideas:—and when we have that, we shall have another age of Great Art.

Democracy, again, is a blessed word, the peculiar boast of our age on both sides of the Atlantic, as certain to grow as anything else on this earth. I am assuredly not one who see with alarm the ever-growing influence of the masses and their increased share of the world's products. Far otherwise: for to me civilization means nothing else than the opening to the whole mass of the people the culture, the power, the welfare which are now not so particularly well used by the fortunate few. But it must be admitted that this distant Utopia has not yet been reached, and that the stage of transition has its own defects. It is but too painfully obvious that the great public

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has not yet acquired a mature and refined taste in matters of grace and beauty, and has but scant leisure to enjoy that ideal in the actual which we call Art. The old feudal organization of society with a wealthy and leisured class at the top, amidst all its social and economic evils, did conduce to a certain standard of culture and a practical pursuit after beautiful things. It was very far from being the best or purest mode of stimulating the productions of genius. But it did much in various ages of the past to promote art; and it cannot be said that Democracy has yet been able to fill its part with entire success.

Nor is it Democracy of the age of Pericles or of the Italian Republics in the Middle Ages, but a Democracy combined with an ever-grinding industrialism, that wrings the last ounce from the labor of millions, while it suddenly heaps up vast wealth in the hands of the ignorant and the mean. How can the imagination flourish in such a world? It is wonderful that poetry has done so much:—but the poet, as I have said throughout, like the musician, lives more in a dream-world of his own, which is impossible in the arts of form. The architect, the painter, the sculptor, the designer, the decorator in every kind, has to work in a grim world, where the journeyman has small interest or enjoyment, except in earning his day's wage, where beauty and grace are treated as cruel hindrances to the rapid accumulation of fortune; and where boundless wealth is often placed in the absolute control of men who find little delight in it except as it ministers to caprice and ostentation. Pharaoh tells the children of Israel that they are idle, and shall have no straw, and yet shall deliver their tale of bricks. Genius must be free: Art must have a light heart. To deliver a tale of bricks to taskmasters, revolts its inmost soul, and is ever beyond its force.

This indeed is the real root of the mischief—that Art in all its forms is become a mere article of commerce. We buy works of imagination, like plate or jewelry, at so much the ounce or the carat; and we expect the creator of such works to make his fortune like the "creator" of ball costumes, or of a dinner service. We have got rather into what logicians call "a vicious circle"—the buyers crying out, "Give us a really great work of art, and we will pay whatever you ask!"—the artist replying, "Guarantee us a handsome income for life, and in good time we will give you an immortal work!" Neither of these proposals is accepted, nor can they be accepted. The artist has to boil his pot, and nowadays he likes his

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potage to be as savory and costly as that of his neighbors, and he has not the leisure or the wealth to meditate for years on a truly immortal work. On the other hand, the buyer, who is usually a keen business man, not unnaturally says, "I must have value for my money, and to keep an artist in luxury, whilst he is meditating a big thing, is not my idea of business!"

All buying and selling involves in some form or other a market. And hence the curious institution of periodical Art Exhibitions. I do not hesitate to put down very much in our deficiency in art-sense to this demoralizing habit. When the practice began, and it did not begin until all the great traditions in art were exhausted and all the great artists had become Old Masters, when the practice was fresh, and its uses seemed obvious, there was *a priori* much to be hoped from it. Aspiring genius was to place its productions side by side for comparison; men of taste and wide experience were to be the judges; the great public was to be educated; and buyers and sellers were to meet in open mart. How different the actual result! It was not genius, so much as industry, knack, and smartness, that covered the Exhibition walls. The "works of art" were crammed together like herrings in a barrel, and their diversity of tone and subject produced the same impression of discord on the eye, as the ear would feel if a thousand instruments in one big orchestra were all set to perform a different tune. The violin trilled out a sonata, the flute played a jig, the cornet rang out Yankee Doodle, and the drum boomed forth the "Dead March" in Saul. The judges too began to wrangle; they called each other bad names, and devoted the works of art they disliked to the hangman, or declared that their own friends were far greater than Raffaelle and Michael Angelo. There were cliques, sets, favoritism, murmurs of jobbery, and violent recrimination. The great public, puzzled by the diversities of the critics, unfortunately took to develop its own taste unaided; and it consolidated its opinion into a love for commonplace, for the vulgar, the silly, the conventional. The middleman, alas! soon stepped in, as he always does, when money is to be made, and he soon became the absolute "boss" of the whole show. Artists did not sell their works to amateurs and collectors—but to the enterprising middleman, to whom they were years in debt. Collectors did not buy works from the artist—but from the middleman, who had bought up in the studio half-finished pieces at half rates; who practically dictated to the artist what he should paint, and how; who dictated to the col-

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lector what he ought to buy and for how much; and who practically educated the public as to what it liked or disliked. And Art became as much a matter of professional dealing as a corner in pork, or a Bear operation in Erie bonds.

The unlucky expedient of competitive Exhibitions has had many indirect ways of pulling down both artist and public. In a crowd of indiscriminate works it was essential to secure attention from the jaded visitor who had in his weary head a catalogue of some four thousand works. To secure attention the obvious course had been shown with marked success by the vendors of rival soaps and pills. Flesh and blood, a starving family, and the laudable desire to have the outward marks of successful industry, did the rest. The dealer fixed the ruling fashion and an elaborate schedule of prices, much as he does in brocades and carpets. The great bulk of artists, painters, sculptors, architects, designers,—yes! let us add poets, dramatists, novelists, essayists, and journalists—submitted to the inevitable; and Genius, which in the heyday of generous youth had dreamed that it would live only to paint, to carve, to write, fell back into the ignoble crowd which paints, carves, and writes only to live.

The camel of Holy Writ will have passed through the eye of the needle long before Supply and Demand will ever have succeeded in creating a great art. And men will be gathering grapes of thorns and figs of thistles the day that Art Exhibitions promote immortal works. For consider how completely every noble work that we know has its own peculiar setting of place, time, person, and inspiration. Take that type of great art, the Parthenon at Athens. Every statue, metope, and bit of frieze had its place in the glorious whole, and would be vapid or unintelligible out of it. The State chose, employed, and paid the artist, and the chief of the State hung over his work with love and pride, as if the artist were the best of his own colleagues. The whole was to the honor of the great Patron Deity of the State, and the completion of it was a sort of National Sacrament and Thanksgiving Day. That was the most perfect and typical work of art that this earth ever saw. What would it have been if *Theseus*, and *Ilissus*, *Centaurs and Lapithæ*, had been stuck in galleries in the midst of Busts of a prominent citizen, dancing girls, children at play, and the like, numbered 4576 in the Official Catalogue, "the work of Pheidias, the studios, Acropolis, price to be had of the secretary; if in Parian marble 25 per cent extra"? The *Theseus* and *Ilissus* look forlorn enough, as it is, in

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their stately exile in our Elgin gallery in London. How would they look in the Paris Salon, when poor Pheidias came day by day to the office to ask if some rich soap-boiler or pork-dealer had given him his price?

This, it is true, was the highest moment of human art, when everything combined in its favor. But much the same may be said of all that the world has agreed to honor. Think of that procession of Cimabue's *Madonna* at Florence, the scene which Sir Frederick Leighton has so well painted,—I often think it the happiest subject in modern art, the young Giotto beside his master and the youthful Dante looking on with delight,—would it be the same to us if the *Madonna* had been ordered by a dealer and hung in the Exhibition with bits of *genre* and studies from the nude? It hangs now in Santa Maria Novella, as it has hung for some six hundred years, and seems to sanctify the Church, as it gave a new name to the *Borgo Allegro*. Would it be all the same, if it had been "the picture of the year," and bought to adorn a contractor's mansion? Imagine Giotto at work in the Arena Chapel at Padua on his great Bible history, with Dante watching his work, suggesting subjects, and inspiring him with grand "motives." Or imagine Michael Angelo, shutting himself up in the Medici Chapel or in the Sistine Chapel, and communing with the mighty spirits of old alone. Or again, take Raffaelle in the Vatican, or Tintoretto in San Rocco. What would these works be in the screaming dissonance of a modern gallery, exposed to the higgling of the market, and designed to catch the accidental whim of some lucky investor? Everything that we love in art had its own time, place, occasion, inspiration. Titian, Velazquez, Rubens, and Vandyke, painted noble gentlemen and ladies in the costumes in which they lived, to hang in their own halls, amidst artistic surroundings of absolute harmony. Your R. A. to-day paints a bill-discounter in a red hunting suit and breeches and a fur top coat; he charges him a thousand guineas; and the bill-discounter is very proud. Raffaelle and Bartolommeo painted Saints and Madonnas to place over altars; Veronese painted sumptuous groups for Venetian palaces; Rembrandt painted the men and the scenes amongst which his life was passed, exactly as he saw them, and for those who loved them. We have to rack our brains for novel subjects, and first and foremost, we have to satisfy the dealer.

I know they say, "Why talk about Raffaelle and Titian, who are of course beyond all comparison: there are very good painters now,

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even if they do not belong to the grand school." And so, they say in literature, "Do not compare us with Milton and Shelley, Fielding and Scott: we have our own qualities, and ought not to be judged by classical standards." But this is the easy road towards decline—to lower the standard of excellence. The one thing essential is—to keep a high ideal of perfection steadily before us. Our achievement may fall short of our aim: but if our standard is true and lofty, we may end by reaching it. Counsel and criticism can do little enough, and, perhaps, least of all to help art. But this they can do. They can remind both public and worker of the higher levels to which art may rise and has risen. They can warn us never to rest satisfied with any lower level. Perfection and the highest must be always before our eyes. And those who, in the enjoyment of some pleasant fashion of the time, or in genuine admiration for some popular book, work of art, or style that exactly hits the mood of the hour, or the mood of a set—need to be reminded how far short of the best it is.

The mere thought of an ideal perfection is enough to convince us how impossible is any high type of art under a system of trade and money-making. The pecuniary standard, which more or less affects every form of intellectual and spiritual activity, seems to have a peculiarly deadening influence upon the visual arts. It is due, no doubt, to their direct and vivid effect on the personal senses, and to the close connection they must always have with the external adornment of life. The arts are necessarily a part of luxury, public or private. And, now that private luxury has almost completely superseded public magnificence, the result on art is disastrous. Art flourished in the days when as the Roman poet says,

Privatus illis census erat brevis—
Commune magnum—

Such was Athens in the age of Pheidias, Florence in the age of Lorenzo, and Venice, when her Doge's Palace was built and adorned. But, in an age when fortunes are made, either by pleasing vast numbers of persons, and those for the most part half-taught and rude of habit, or else by pleasing those who have amassed fortunes and nothing else—the pursuit of fortune is the ruin of art.

I may be asked, what practical measures I would advocate to remedy this state of things, a state of things which seems but another illustration of the old saying—that "the love of money is the root of all evil." There is no practical remedy: and my object in what I

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have said about poetry, literature, and art, is simply to insist that there is no practical remedy—or none of the immediate and direct kind. The only true remedy is that contained in the Apostle's words to Timothy:—"They that will be rich fall into temptation and a snare, and into many foolish and hurtful lusts, which drown men in destruction and perdition." And it is as true for the artist or the poet to-day as it is for the divine and the disciple, as it was true for the Apostle's own son in the faith, whom he had left in Ephesus:—"But thou, flee these things; and follow after righteousness, godliness, faith, love, patience, meekness." Men hear these words in church on a Sunday, and for the next six days in the week they go to 'change and to their office, and contend for the turn of the market like hungry tigers at the hour of meal. "They that will be rich fall into temptation and a snare, and into many foolish and hurtful lusts." And no snare is so cunning as that spread for those that will be rich in fame and money by their skill in art.

I took up my pen in these papers in order to show that this matter of aimlessness in art is at bottom a moral question—as all important matters must be—nay, is in truth a religious question, far more than one of *technique* or style or school. It may not be religious in the sense of the ordinary pulpit: and so much the worse for the ordinary pulpit. The pulpits in vogue utter little enough to instruct the artist how he may use his talent in a worthy way, and the preacher would be scandalized if he were asked to touch such mundane themes. But all the same, it is the business of religion and of social ethics to teach the noble use of imaginative gifts, and how a pure and lofty art may minister to the beauty of a noble life. If the churches do not know what this means, I am sorry for them. This is not the place, nor have I space left here, to explain all I mean, when I say that art is a mode of religion, and can flourish only under the inspiration of living and practical religion. In the mean time, I would say but one word to the ingenuous youth who aspires to be an *artist* that he should shudder to become a *tradesman*, that he take up his high calling with "love, patience, meekness"—that he hold fast by all that is pure, all that is beautiful, all that is broadly human.

FREDERIC HARRISON.

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MUNICIPAL SANITATION IN WASHINGTON AND BALTIMORE.

In an introductory article upon the sanitary condition and organization of American cities, published in The Forum for May, it was stated that the subject would be continued in special studies of a few of our large cities, so far as data were available for the purpose. In this paper it is proposed to give some account of Washington and Baltimore from this point of view.

These cities have been made the subject of a special report to the Superintendent of the United States Census, by whose permission certain data contained therein are used in this comparison, and they present certain resemblances and certain differences, which make the results of the examination particularly interesting from a sanitary point of view. Both cities have a comparatively large proportion of colored population, considerable differences in altitude in different localities, an abundant and good general water-supply, and active Health Departments. The climatic conditions are nearly the same for each, but Washington is a sewered city and Baltimore is not.

On June 1, 1890, Washington (including Georgetown) had a population of 202,978, occupying 34,543 dwellings, on 6,550 acres of ground, of which 3,348 acres were actual building-area. There were, therefore, 10.32 dwellings, each containing an average of 5.88 persons, to each acre of building-area, or 60.63 persons an acre of such area. At the same time Baltimore had a population of 434,439, living in 72,112 dwellings in 18,867 acres, of which 11,349 acres were actual building-area. There were, therefore, to each acre of building area, 6.35 dwellings, each containing an average of 6.02 persons, or 38.28 persons an acre of building-area. Between 1888 and 1890 the number of dwellings increased about sixty-one per cent in Washington and forty-two per cent in Baltimore (to which last a considerable addition of territory was made in the interval); the average number of persons to a dwelling diminished in Washington from 6.11 to 5.94, and in Baltimore from 6.54 to 6.02; while the average number of persons to a family increased from 4.98 to 5.24 in Washington, and fell from 5.08 to 5.01 in Baltimore.

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Washington is the more densely populated of the two, if only actual building-area is considered, but it has fewer tenement-houses, a less average number of persons to the dwelling and a relatively greater amount of open area in the form of streets and parks; having two hundred and thirty miles of streets, averaging one hundred feet in width, and five hundred and thirty-eight acres of parks; while Baltimore has seven hundred and eighty miles of streets, averaging sixty-six feet in width, and eight hundred and sixty-six acres of parks. In Washington the average daily supply of water to each person is 177 gallons; in Baltimore it is ninety-two gallons; while for each thousand persons there are in Baltimore 4.37 drinking saloons, and in Washington, 3.01. A greater proportion of the persons doing business in Baltimore live outside the city limits than is the case in Washington, as is shown by the fact that during the ten years, 1880–90, the average number of commuters in suburban travel on railroads was annually for Baltimore, 719,082, and for Washington, 290,830. Washington had two hundred and fifty-five miles of sewers, but a considerable number of dwellings was not connected with them. Baltimore had theoretically no sewers, and the greater part of its sewage is disposed of in cesspools, vaults and boxes.

During the period of six years ending June 1, 1890, the average annual death-rate in the District of Columbia was 23.41 a thousand of mean population, or a little over one a thousand greater than that of Baltimore, which was 22.39 for the same period; but this excess of mortality was entirely due to the higher death-rates of the colored population, which were 33.25 for the District and 32.60 for Baltimore, while those for the white were 18.55 for the District, and 20.41 for Baltimore, still-births being excluded in each case.

The best means of comparing the healthfulness of two different localities, so far as this is indicated by the tendency to death in the population of these localities, is by means of a life-table, and the expectation of life deduced therefrom;—because such a table eliminates, as far as possible, the differences in mortality due to different distribution of sex and age in the two populations which are to be compared. From approximate life-tables calculated for the two localities under consideration, we find that in the District of Columbia, if a million white children had been born on June 1, 1889, there would have been 506,626 males and 493,374 females. If now these infants were subjected to the same influences tending to produce death for a series of years as were acting on the general population

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during the census year, at the end of the first year there would have survived of the white male infants, 400,512; at the end of the fourth year, 361,351; at the end of the twenty-fourth year, 320,502; and at the end of the forty-fourth year, 247,323; while out of a million colored infants under the same conditions, 500,725 would have been males, of whom 293,318 would be surviving at the end of the first year; 219,565 at the end of the fourth year; 168,448 at the end of the twenty-fourth year; and 109,724 at the end of the forty-fourth.

Making similar computations for the females and also for Baltimore, we find that in the District of Columbia the expectation of life, or mean after-life time of a white male infant at birth, is 39.20; for a white female, 44.47 years; for a colored male infant, 20.16, and for a colored female infant, 23.91; while in Baltimore, the expectation of life of a male white infant at birth is 37.01; of a female infant, 40.33; of the colored male infant, 19.26 and of the female, 24.40 years. The expectation of life of a white male infant, therefore, in the District of Columbia is two years greater than it is in Baltimore; of a white female infant, a little over four years greater in the District of Columbia than it is in Baltimore; of a colored male infant at birth not quite a year greater in the District of Columbia than in Baltimore; and of a colored female infant, slightly less in the District than in Baltimore.

These great differences between the expectation of life of the white and colored infants become rapidly less with advancing years. At the beginning of the fifth year of life, the expectation of life of a white male child in the District of Columbia is 49.56; in Baltimore it is 51.03. Of the colored male at the same age, it is in the District of Columbia 39.80 and in Baltimore, 43.24. At the beginning of the twenty-fifth year of life, the expectation of life of the white male in the District of Columbia is 34.50 years; in Baltimore 35.82; and of the colored male in the District, 28.64; in Baltimore, 30.53. At the commencement of the fifty-fifth year of age, the expectation of life of the white male in the District is 16.23; of the colored male, 13.67; in Baltimore, of the white male, 16.81; of the colored male, 13.88. From these figures it would seem that Baltimore is more unhealthy than Washington for infants, but that for persons five years old and upwards the expectation of life is greater in Baltimore than in Washington.

The aggregate death-rates have upon the whole been diminished both in the District of Columbia and in Baltimore during recent

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years. In 1875 the death-rate of the District of Columbia was 26.90, from which it diminished steadily until 1881, when it was 22.69, since which time it has varied slightly, sinking to 21.89 in 1887, after which it has again increased. In Baltimore the death-rate in 1875 was 24.55. It sank to 21.16 in 1878, rose to 26.05 in 1883, owing to the small-pox epidemic, and reached its lowest point (20.58) in 1889, rising to 23.47 in 1890.

In studying death-rates as indications of the healthfulness of a city, it is very desirable to know, not merely the gross death-rates, but those of different parts of the city. In the District of Columbia these rates vary for the whites from 39.30 in one locality and 32.00 in another to 15.71 and 14.94 in other parts of the city, not taking into account the suburban districts, in one of which the rate was as low as 10.01; while the colored death-rates vary from 66.00 and 55.56 to 26.32 and 32.47, falling as low as 25.52 in one of the rural districts. In Baltimore the range of variation is still greater, being for the whites from 96.37 and 50.94 to 12.26 and 9.85, and for the colored from 400.00 and 333.33 to 12.26 and 14.34.

It is evidently a matter of great interest to determine as far as possible the conditions which give rise to these great differences of death-rates in different parts of a city, but it is a difficult matter; because these causative conditions are many and various, and it cannot be effected by the purely statistical method of research, because the obtainable data are imperfect, and more or less inaccurate, and because temporary and local conditions cannot be sufficiently taken into account by it. The value of such statistics by districts in a city is mainly to indicate the localities where it is most probable that special causes of sickness and death exist, and where a special investigation of the locality by some one familiar with its topography and peculiarities, is most likely to lead to good results.

The variations in death-rates which depend upon differences in the race, age, sex and occupation distribution of the population in different localities, may be to a considerable extent ascertained by statistics, but these will serve only as a basis for special inquiries into the more immediate causes, such as the poverty and ignorance of the people, dampness or pollution of the soil, the nature of the water-supply, house-drainage and sewage-disposal, the presence of dangerous collections of filth, and the action of epidemic forms of disease. The marked differences between the mortality of the white and of the colored race which appear both in the District of Columbia and

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in Baltimore, are also found in almost all Southern cities; and it is an interesting question as to how far they are due to differences in the physical structure of the two races, and how far to differences in the character and place of residence, the food, the occupations, or the habits and modes of life of these two races. It is evident that the higher mortality of the colored race is mainly, though not entirely, due to the excessively high death-rate among the young children. For example, in the District of Columbia, the average annual death-rate for six years among the colored children under five years of age was 187.20; while among the whites it was 74.92. In Baltimore City the corresponding figures for the colored were 197.62, and for the whites, 88.22; that is, in both cities, the death-rate of the colored children under five was more than twice that of the white.

Even among the whites, there is a perceptible relation between the mortality and race-differences, although it is not nearly so marked. For example, among the white married males between fifteen and forty-five years of age in the District of Columbia, the death-rate of those born of American mothers was 6.75; of those born of Irish mothers, 13.61; and of those born of German mothers, 12.63. The corresponding rate in Prussia for 1885 was 10.13. For white married males forty-five years and upwards, the death-rate for those born of American mothers was 22.06; for those born of Irish mothers, 42.06; for those born of German mothers, 33.48—the corresponding figures for Prussia for 1885 being 32.83. And in general the death-rates of white persons whose mothers are of American birth appear to be less than those of persons of Irish or German descent; but here also it is doubtful as to whether this is due to physical differences between the different races, or to different places and modes of life depending upon poverty, *etc.*

Some interesting relations between the average altitude of the different sub-districts in Washington and Baltimore and their average annual death-rates are brought out by the statistics for the six years ending June 1, 1890. Thus in the District of Columbia, the death-rates diminished with considerable regularity with the increasing average altitude of the locality, ranging from 34.99 and 30.21 in the districts having an average altitude of only ten or twelve feet above high-water mark to between 19 and 20 a thousand in the districts having an average surface level of over one hundred feet above high-water mark—the diminution being chiefly marked in the number of deaths from malarial fever, consumption and diarrhœal disease.

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Similar differences are found also in Baltimore. Thus for the districts whose surface is under twenty-five feet average altitude above high-water mark, the aggregate death-rate is 26.13; for those upon an altitude of from twenty-five to fifty feet, it is 23.69; for those from fifty to seventy-five feet, 23.48; for those from seventy-five to one hundred feet, 19.70, and for those having an altitude of one hundred feet and upwards, it is 19.35. For the same groups of districts, the death-rates from malarial fever a thousand of mean population are, under twenty-five feet, 70.59; from twenty-five to fifty feet, 46.59; from fifty to seventy-five feet, 31.41; from seventy-five to one hundred feet, 26.45; and one hundred feet and upwards, 24.80.

But it is in the low-lying, water-side districts that are found some of the poorest class of people. Thus in the district in Washington having the highest death-rate among the whites (37.63) and a very high death-rate among the colored (44.87), the average altitude was only twenty-six feet, the houses were mostly small frames, there was much vacant ground, much of which had been used as a dumping-place for rubbish. In this district, malarial fevers caused more than five times the average proportion of deaths, and the mortality from typhoid fever, diarrhœal diseases and consumption was also excessive, while that from diphtheria was unusually low. On the other hand, the district having the lowest death-rate among the whites (12.43) had an average altitude of eighty-nine feet, the houses were of the better class, and no special nuisances were present.

It is not proposed to discuss here the details as to death-rates, character of dwellings and of population, *etc.*, in the several districts; those who are interested in such details will find them in the special Census report referred to in the beginning of this paper. It is not possible to determine precisely the effects which faulty nutrition and insufficient shelter and clothing have upon the excessive death-rate of the poor as compared on the one hand with the effects of unclean habits, excessive use of liquor and other modes of living which are under their own immediate control to a considerable extent, and on the other hand with the effects of want of drainage, of the presence of dumping-grounds, and other unsanitary conditions in the localities which their poverty compels them to occupy; but all these things are factors in the result, and each class of these morbific influences requires different methods to secure relief or mitigation.

From this point of view, the infantile death-rates demand con-

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sideration; but first a word may be said with regard to the still-births, which are reported in an excessive proportion in both cities, especially among the colored population; being in Baltimore 1.57 a thousand of population for the whites, and 3.46 for the colored; and in the District of Columbia, 1.22 for the whites, and 4.19 for the colored, annually. Out of 2,106 births reported among the colored population in Baltimore during the census year, two hundred and thirty-three, or eleven per cent, were still-births; in the District of Columbia during the same year, 2,386 births were reported among the colored population, of which three hundred and seventeen, or thirteen per cent, were still-births.

Among the whites, the percentage of still-births to total births for the census year was in Baltimore 5.7 and in the District of Columbia 5.5; in New York City it was 7.1. As the average proportion of still-births should not exceed four per cent of the total number of births—and even for illegitimate births should not be more than eight per cent—it must be considered probable that the enormous percentage of still-births reported among the colored population in Baltimore and Washington really indicates a considerable number of deaths of infants occurring within a few hours after birth and due to gross carelessness, and in some cases, it must be feared, to deliberate neglect or crime, and this would seem to be especially the case in the District of Columbia.

The death-rates of children under one year of age to each one thousand children of that age were in 1890, in Baltimore, for whites 258.6, for colored 542.6; in the District of Columbia, for whites, 207.8, for colored, 491.8. According to the English Life Table No. 3, the average infantile death-rate is 165.6. The proper mode of computing infantile death-rates is by comparing the number of deaths with the number of births for a year, excluding still-births. Using the census figures for 1890 for this purpose, the rates are in Baltimore, for whites, 225.70, for colored, 400.96; in the District of Columbia, for whites, 186.44, for colored, 376.99. In a previous article,[1] attention has been called to the probable errors in the census figures as regards births, and the same remarks apply to the figures for the cities under consideration. In the District of Columbia, the census figures show an increase of total population of 52,768 in the ten years 1880–90, and a decrease of one hundred and twenty-seven

[1] "The Diminishing Birth-rate in the United States," THE FORUM, June, 1893, p. 467.

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in the number of children under one year of age during the same period. According to these data, the birth-rates for the whites were in Baltimore, in 1880, 28.38, and in 1890, 25.58; in the District of Columbia, in 1880, 26.85, and in 1890, 20.98; while for the colored they were in Baltimore, in 1880, 35.46; in 1890, 27.83; and in the District of Columbia, in 1880, 38.34, and in 1890, 27.33. All these birth-rates are too low by from fifteen to twenty per cent; and the death-rates of children born are therefore too high; but they are comparable with each other unless it be assumed that the census of 1890 was more defective as regards the infants than was that of 1880. The figures as given indicate lower birth-rates and higher infantile death-rates in both cities in 1890 than in 1880; higher infantile death-rates in Baltimore than in the District; higher birth-rates among the colored than among the white; and enormously higher infantile death-rates among the colored: so that this last class of population would probably decrease in number in these cities were it not for immigration. Making all due allowance for errors in the census data, these conclusions may be accepted as correct, and they point distinctly to bad sanitary conditions in and about the homes of the colored population, which conditions have become worse in 1890 than they were in 1880.

Of the causes of death which are more or less preventable and therefore of special interest from a sanitary point of view, consumption, typhoid fever, scarlet fever and malarial fevers caused a greater proportion of deaths in Washington than in Baltimore during the six years ending June 1, 1890; while diarrhœal diseases, diphtheria and croup and measles were more fatal in Baltimore than in Washington during the same period. The excessive death-rate from consumption in Washington was entirely among the colored, the mortality from this cause among the whites having been greatest in Baltimore. The death-rates from typhoid fever were also greater among the colored than among the white, and greater among those of Irish parentage than among other whites. Diphtheria on the other hand was relatively more fatal among the whites than among the colored in Baltimore, the reverse being the case in Washington. The higher death-rates among the colored are largely due to poverty and ignorance; they correspond to those of the tenement-house class in New York City. Something may be done by the municipal authorities to reduce these death-rates, mainly by affording greater facilities for the preservation of cleanliness of person, clothing and habitation, and by

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restricting the spread of contagious diseases by isolation and disinfection. Baltimore, as has been said, has no sewers, and hence she does not get the full benefit of her fine water-supply. Washington has sewers, but their present arrangement and outlets are unsatisfactory, and they are to be greatly extended and changed within the next four or five years in accordance with a plan prepared by a board of sewer engineers. There are still extensive areas in Washington which have neither a general water-supply nor sewers, where the water is carried by buckets from shallow wells, the slops are thrown on the ground and the excreta are disposed of in privy boxes. Of course many of these wells are polluted, and it is in these districts that diarrhœal diseases cause the heaviest death-rates. The increase of typhoid fever in the District for the last six years, so that the death-rate from this cause has been considerably greater there than in Baltimore, is also in part due to the polluted water of these wells.

The fact that the different methods of sewage-disposal in Baltimore and Washington are not accompanied by marked differences in the death-rates is an important one which deserves careful attention by sanitarians and municipal engineers, being contrary to the prevailing opinions on this point. It seems to indicate that so long as the water-supply is pure and abundant the methods of sewage-disposal do not have much influence on the health of the community, and that while the disposal of house-slops in open gutters and the storage of sewage in cess-pools produce nuisances of various kinds, it is doubtful whether they are nuisances directly and positively injurious to health, and, therefore, their abatement should be urged on other grounds.

As regards the restriction of contagious diseases, such as scarlet fever, measles and diphtheria, by the health authorities, both cities have a system of notification of the houses in which such diseases occur, and some good is effected in this way; but the good effects of notification have been greatly limited by the fact that neither city has had a hospital to which cases of such disease, occurring in the dwellings of the poor where satisfactory isolation cannot be secured, can be sent and properly cared for. The result of this is, first, that cases of such diseases are concealed as long as possible, especially if they occur in hotels, boarding-houses, or houses above small shops; and second, that cases remain scattered about the city in places where it is practically impossible to secure satisfactory isolation. Neither city has any public disinfecting establishment, although the Health

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Departments in both cities have the means of disinfecting rooms and houses in a fairly satisfactory manner.

As regards the powers of the Health Departments to suppress nuisances injurious to health, they are, theoretically, fairly sufficient for the purpose, but practically they cannot be fully exercised, owing in part to the want of means to employ a sufficient number of inspectors to ensure the enforcement of the rules and regulations with regard to stagnant water, slops, garbage, sewage-disposal, house plumbing, food, markets, *etc.*, and partly because there is not legal machinery enough to deal properly with the number of cases which would occur if all violations of the regulations were reported. This is also the case in almost all other large cities. It is by no means easy to ascertain precisely what the law is, in either city, with regard to the conditions within and near habitations which may affect the health of the inmates, for the requirements are scattered through health ordinances, building regulations, plumbing regulations, *etc.*, and much is left to the discretion of the courts, which make allowances for ignorance, poverty and surrounding circumstances.

The method of disposal of waste products is the matter in which the health department has the most frequent occasion to interfere with the liberty of the householder in order to prevent nuisance or danger to health. In Baltimore, not only all garbage and offal, but also all ashes, are removed at public expense; in Washington each householder must make his own arrangements for the removal of ashes and have it done at his own expense. In Baltimore, privy-pits are used for the reception of sewage; in Washington, boxes placed above the level of the ground are more commonly used for this purpose in the unsewered districts.

The excess of the death-rate among the whites in Baltimore over that in Washington, amounting to nearly two deaths a thousand of population annually, is probably due in part to the differences in the method of sewage-disposal in the two cities, but the evidence as to this is not conclusive. It is, however, the excessive death-rate among the colored in both cities which chiefly demands attention, and it must be confessed that there is not much reason to think any marked lowering of this death-rate can be effected by municipal engineering methods, or by legislation which can be practically enforced at present. Some improvement in the healthfulness of this class can no doubt be produced by proper sewerage, compulsory connection of houses with the general water-supply and the sewers, by soil-drainage

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and the prevention of damp cellars and walls, and by proper methods of dealing with contagion; but after all this has been done there will still remain a great mortality of children, due to congenital debility, neglect, improper food, *etc.*, and also heavy death-rates from tuberculosis, pneumonia, alcoholism, and some allied causes acting upon adults. A considerable proportion of the colored population of Baltimore and Washington resembles the population of the slums and tenement-houses of Northern cities, so far as poverty, ignorance and uncleanliness are concerned, but it includes fewer of the actually criminal class, and a smaller proportion of habitual tramps and vagabonds.

Whether it is possible materially to diminish the excessive death and sick rates, which are in part an effect and in part a cause of poverty, and which, like poverty, are closely connected with ignorance, indolence and vice, is one of the grave questions of the day. Especially important is the question, "To what extent and in what manner is it expedient to attempt to bring about such reduction by municipal regulations and authorities, and at public expense?" If, for example, the law fixes a standard of human dwellings as regards floor-space and cubic air space per head, freedom from dampness, amount of light, compulsory connection with general water-supplies and sewers, house-plumbing and fixtures, *etc.*, and if this standard is not below what are usually considered to be the minimum requirements for the preservation of health and of barely decent family life, then the strict enforcement of such laws in Baltimore and Washington would make it impossible for the poorer class of colored people to live in those cities at their own cost. To force them to go elsewhere, and thus increase the burdens of some other locality, is not a solution of the problem; to provide for them in institutions at public expense and allow their family life to be maintained, is impracticable.

If it be possible to solve these problems of social pathology, and of pauperism, by legal regulation in detail of the conditions of life of the very poor in any city of this country, it should be possible in Washington; but if anything of this kind is to be attempted, it will be necessary to change slowly, for great evils may be easily produced by such interference. This point will be further considered in subsequent papers dealing with the sanitary conditions of New York, Brooklyn, Philadelphia and Boston.

JOHN S. BILLINGS.

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HOW MY CHARACTER WAS FORMED.

WHEN an amiable American friend brought me THE FORUM'S invitation to place before its readers some detailed account of the formative influences of my career, I was rightly astounded; for it recalled the voice of the Delphic Apollo to whom, it might be construed, my friend stood in some occult relationship, appealing to me in the words of the celebrated inscription above the heathen temple, "Man, know thyself." Almost compelled to gainsay it, I yet appreciate the fact that the principle of self-knowledge constitutes the very key-note of this invitation. I published recently a "History of my Youth," and while drawing that portrait of myself, the conviction grew upon me that there is no such royal road to the comprehension of one's soul as could be arrived at in the chemical analysis of a compound substance.

My tranquillity was thus disturbed until the conviction overtook me that, however difficult it may be to decipher an entire *ego*, certain educative influences are always more or less readily distinguishable. Glancing at the many who have indulged in autobiographical reminiscence or who have enriched memorial literature with "Confessions," I believe Jean Jacques Rousseau's assertion that Nature, Art and Circumstance determine education, indicates the correct plan of self-examination. On these lines, therefore, I will endeavor to elucidate the educational forces which have affected my personal development and activity.

Of my father I know personally very little, for he died fourteen days previous to my birth at Berlin in March, 1837. From my grandfather I learned he had ever been an upright, prudent man. Excellent portraits of my grandparents are still extant by the English painter Bradley, recalling the pictures of Franz Hals in which the substantial and jovial old Hollanders are so happily portrayed. To these progenitors I am certainly a debtor for that unruffled serenity and cheerful disposition which the severest blows of destiny have not been able permanently to affect. My mother used often to relate stories illustrative of the industry and the tenacious memory

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of her father, but a wider examination into inherited qualities would be futile here.

In my novel, "Homo Sum," the anchorite Paulus says, "The mother of every child is the best of mothers"—an opinion I still hold to-day. Truly many injudicious and headstrong women are blessed with children, in relation to whom, however, they possess intuitive fostering powers which make the most vicious appear good and the stupidest wise; for the best mother-gift is derived rather from an overflowing love than from any particular state of intelligence, there being also a wisdom of the heart. Thus is the mother herself reacted upon and ennobled. Like a teacher earnestly instructing, many a fervent mother, even though limited in her nature, develops into an excellent educator; and among such my own mother was worthy to be classed with the best, wisest and most truly beautiful. Over me she exercised a strong educational influence, operating together with that of another with whom I came in contact later in life.

Few, I believe, individually appreciate the enormous hidden force in educational and moral influence exerted upon them by their mothers. Were a college founded for the propagation of morality, its professors would touch only superficially the inner life of the students; it would be, in fact, a superfluous institution; for life itself is just such a school. We begin here like children, understanding such instruction alone as appeals to the heart; and of this every man's mother, like mine, holds the key. Comprehending this, a wise mother should therefore improve every occasion as a stimulus to an exercise in morality, teaching even by the glance of her eye, as it appeals to the innate love of her child; and this fundamental instruction will take root as deeply as though the pupils were already older, excluding superficiality, from the fact that she can touch the soul to its innermost core. When one leaves the motherly influence, one is already a moral man, or one is not; and of a hundred who are so, ninety-nine, even though unconsciously, are indebted to the mother.

Under his head of Art, Rousseau, conformably with my own opinion, comprehends the pedagogue. My early instructors embraced several who were, in the exact sense of the Greek word, leaders of youth. I attach, however, small importance to the mere knowledge received from them, for many an instructor who most dexterously implants positive knowledge can also be a poor teacher. Still, I am convinced that the authority of particular men, aside from the maternal influence, has the utmost effect on intelligent boys.

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Friedrich Froebel, founder of the kindergarten, once kept a school in Kilhau, situated in a beautiful valley amid the mountain-forests of Thuringia, and thither in my boyhood I was sent. Froebel, in 1813, had taken part in the uprising of the German people against the Corsican conqueror, and had more than once looked death in the face while serving in the volunteer corps of the "Schwarzen Jäger," celebrated by Theodore Körner in his poem "Lützow's Wilde verwegene Jagd." After the declaration of peace, he founded his Kilhau school and called on Langethal and Middendorf, his whilom companions-in-arms, to associate themselves with him here; all three electing to abandon personal advancement in order thus again to serve their country in that remote forest-valley. Deep religious idealists, as became the hour of a nation's spiritual expansion, these men proposed to dedicate themselves to the growing youth of the country, employing in their work the steadfast natures discerned by Froebel amid the tramp and turmoil of war. While Froebel had been for several years prior to the war a scholar of Pestalozzi in Yverdun, Switzerland, he had at the same time assisted in the completion of Pestalozzi's well-known system. The effort made by Froebel with the youth confided to him was to form true men by a harmonious development of both mind and body, not on the usual lines of education, but through a complete study of the individual, presuming that the richest endowment for life within his gift lay in imparting a tenderness of mind united to strength of character and body. Earnest men and lovers of childhood, they used the simplest forms of our daily life, at work or play, as opportunities for carrying out their principles: even the miniature battles we fought on summer evenings on the crest of some wooded height were made to bear a moral, for an awakening of the intelligence, preparatory to a higher instruction, weighed more seriously under the Froebel system than the success of a mere prodigy of learning.

An institution conducted by such methods represented solid educational force, although to ascribe to this tutelage any special factor in my own development would be as difficult as to define the sequence of each flaky crystal of the falling snow. Nevertheless, I can still trace the enduring mastery over me of that old champion of freedom, Heinrich Langethal; for though he deserted Kilhau as early as my sixteenth year, he coerced my tastes into a path from which I have never swerved. A favorite pupil of Schleiermacher and Friedrich August Wolf, the great philologist and propounder of the "Homeric

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Question," Langethal attained an unusual scholastic acquaintance with classic antiquity, joining the elect whom the goddess alone permits to enter understandingly into the true spirit of Grecian art. An affection of the eye, produced by camping on wet ground during the war, had culminated, when I first knew him, in total blindness; but the eye of his soul discerned with augmented force and in purer light the pictures and forms so richly thronging his imagination. He knew the whole of Homer accurately by rote, as is attestable by living witnesses; and his interpretation of the Iliad aroused within us a feeling that he too marched with Achilles on the sanguinary field of battle, or was again at home in the palace of Priam. When he elucidated the classics, the very spirit of antiquity emanated from him, and to have read directly from the page, when required by the blind rhapsodist to translate or recite, would have impressed us as a shameful crime, like striking a fallen hero. Using no precautionary rule against deception, he inculcated a respect for truth, impressing upon us that conscience could inflict a more condign punishment than the severest school-penalty. When I left school, his epigrammatic parting was, "ἀληθέυειν ἐν ἀγάπῃ"—"be veracious in love"—a motto which has guided me in life as the Polar Star guides the desert wanderer.

No wonder the love for antiquity became engrafted from the sightless teacher's heart into my own while at school. I would often accompany him to the foot of the Colm, where I read aloud as he sat on his favorite bench under the shade of an old beech-tree, or we wended our way to the brook where he gladly lingered; and thus I came to know the soul of the blind scholiast who combined with the piety of orthodoxy the ethics of the Greek pagan. To him the murmur of the brook disclosed the image of a nymph, or the rustling of the thickets the dryads who sought escape from some teasing faun. Returning home at sunset, he would picture the quadriga of Phœbus Apollo, the circling Horæ following with airiest tread; had the moon risen, he painted the glorious Selene, while his lips, in purest Greek, uttered the prayer of the love-lorn maid in the "Enchantress" of Theocritus—

"List! from whence comest love to me, mighty Selene!"

At the University of Berlin my most beneficent masters were the Egyptologist Lepsius, the philologist Boeckh, and the archæologist Friederichs; and here I continued the study of that enticing wonder-

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world comprised in Egyptian antiquity. In Göttingen, Professor Unger's lectures on the history of art had already fascinated me, particularly where he discussed the hieroglyphics as deciphered by Champollion and Young. The perusal of instructive books was also as productive of result for me as the positive tuition of these masters. It was a saying with Lepsius, "Small can be good: incomplete never"; and Boeckh exclaimed, "Reflect that the most learned and the most malicious will both criticise you." Tempted at any time to neglect work for pleasure, the warning marked by my father in Horace, "*Carpe diem*," restrained me. This I caused to be engraved on my signet-ring, embracing it, together with the truism of Langethal, as a life maxim.

I fail to locate the particular circumstances most potent upon my youth which awakened in me the poetic afflatus. The life for which we are educated is, as Rousseau understands it, the very initial of circumstances, although these are difficult of detailed indication except in extraordinary or unusual cases. Like the wetting of a thousand raindrops, the accented accumulation of small events completes the whole. In a circumstance cloaked by a terrible fatality, seemingly the severest misfortune at its happening, I recognized later the beneficent outer development of a completed inner nature: namely, the severe illness that, in the midst of the enjoyment of German student-life, chained me hopelessly to my bed and afterward to my room. A rebellious invalid, inveighing against fate during the worst days of protracted suffering, the earnest purpose of life sweeping over me when convalescent, thankful for the smallest gifts of hope, more grateful to the soul than larger bounties of destiny, I came to appreciate the refinement of suffering in the divine blessing of laborious duty fulfilled, cognizant of the impetus given to the florescent talents within me, standing as I did on the borderland of developing vitality. Among the greatest educational powers are quietude and introspective reflection, which in this progressive age, that tends so strongly to association, are so difficult for all to obtain. Later, when travelling across the desert, I strongly realized my indebtedness to the enforced retirement consequent on my long illness and which, holding the germ of my inclination, shaped it then into a firm resolution. The energy of health presented variegated inspirations, which rose, like some lovely mermaid on the waters, to disappear again as suddenly when I stretched out my hand to detain them. But in that period of quiet I marked the first successful retaining of

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ideas crowding through my brain, with the ability to force a thought to its extreme limit. When traversing the silent desert, the same phenomenon presented itself, and I now learned why the prophets and law-givers of most nations passed into the desert to find there the infinite quiet they sought. Thus Sakya-Muni, the founder of Buddhism, Moses, Zoroaster and Mohammed conceived their high mission. But where shall the growing youth of to-day—God defend it from a compulsory retirement like mine!—find such repose?

In my "Autobiography," I have pitied the children who herd together in cities, robbed utterly of the retirement essential to their well-being. Shortly before the publication of this work, I was much gratified to hear my friend Professor Adolph von Baeyer, the celebrated successor of Liebig at the University of Munich, say in an address before the students and later in personal conversation, that he regretted there was so little opportunity possible in the present state of society for seasons of quiet and seclusion. In tracing the career of others who have done more than I for human progress, the tendency to formulate the best in solitude becomes apparent of each one. Goethe found the quiet of early morning most favorable for composition; the teeming brains of the great physicist Helmholtz and the mathematician Gausz marked as most productive the silent hours or walks abroad in sunny weather; the universe opened to Kant on solitary wanderings; and the famous electrician, Werner Siemens, after being incarcerated in a fortress as punishment for a duel, declared that it was with regret he regained his freedom from an imprisonment in which work and thought had reaped incredible benefit from solitude.

Sheep and geese become restless when separated from the flock: the eagle and lion seek isolation. From quiet and solitude spring the greatest thoughts, inventions and compositions of art; hence their potentiality in character formation. I hold the theory that the child exerts on the child, as the friction of life on man, the greatest educational influence, while our most valuable acquisition in the time of our development through Nature, Art and Circumstance is the fruit of hours spent in quietude, desirable for our growing youth and absolutely essential for our future philosopher, poet and artist.

Personally, I am indebted for my full fruition, rounded out by a mother's influence, to the solitary contemplations which marked the saddest period of my life.

GEORG EBERS.

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AMERICA'S ACHIEVEMENTS IN ASTRONOMY.

NOT long ago I was asked by an honored friend to write out for him an account of America's achievements in astronomy since the early settlements. Such a summary is peculiarly interesting in the Columbian year. Although the history of the great advance of astronomy in this country was familiar to me in detail, I was much impressed by the facts when they were assembled in the mass. I think it probable that few astronomers, even, fully appreciate the highly honorable part which Americans have taken in the general progress of the science in the last century; and it is extremely unlikely that those not professionally engaged in astronomy can have any adequate idea of the credit which rightly belongs to our countrymen. For this reason I am very glad to accept an invitation to present my memorandum to a wider public in THE FORUM. It is necessary, first of all, to recollect that the subject is, in itself, a large one; and to ask indulgence for the extremely brief paragraphs which are given to even the most important matters.

If we write out a brief catalogue of the various departments of astronomy I think it can fairly be said that in each and every one of the divisions, at least one American astronomer can be named who is, or who was, in the fore-front of advance and who can justly be called the peer of his colleagues of other countries in this specialty. The chief problems relating to the sun are the study of its spectrum; measures of the amounts of its radiant light and heat; registration of the phenomena of solar eclipses and of the corona; photography of the spectra and of the forms of the spots, the protuberances, the faculæ; investigation of the laws governing its rotation and of the law governing the production of its heat through shrinkage, *etc.*, *etc.* In every one of these departments Americans have borne or are bearing an important part.

The planetary surfaces have been successfully and assiduously studied both by photography and visually; and the spectra of the major planets investigated. Minor planets (or asteroids) have been discovered in great numbers by means of elaborate stellar charts constructed for this especial purpose; seventy-eight asteroids have been

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discovered in America alone and their orbits have been calculated. New satellites accompanying Saturn, Jupiter and Mars have been discovered here. American geodesists have done their full share of work in problems relating to the accurate determination of the figure of the earth; of latitudes and longitudes and of the force of gravity at home and at foreign stations; the first transatlantic longitude was an American work and the telegraphic method of determining longitudes was first invented and applied here. The brilliant discovery of the fact that terrestrial latitudes go through a cycle of (small) changes in about four hundred and thirty days is due to an American. The first daguerreotype of the moon was taken in New York, and since that time the lunar surface has been assiduously and successfully photographed by several American observatories, private and public. The amount of lunar heat has been measured.

Very many new comets have been discovered in the United States; their orbits have been calculated by old and by new methods; their spectra and their physical changes have been studied by the eye and by photography. Meteoric astronomy has a long and honorable history here; the phenomena and statistics of meteor-showers, the computation of the orbits of such showers and the investigation of their relationship to comets owe much to Americans. This subject has been assiduously cultivated at Yale College from the beginning. The fixed-stars have been observed for position, in zones and otherwise, at many of our principal observatories, and some of our star-catalogues are of the first importance; the brightness (and the spectra) of many thousands of stars have been systematically determined here (this is one of the many fields covered by the work of the Harvard College Observatory); stellar charts (both visual and photographic) have been constructed; standard catalogues of fundamental stars have been derived from the discussion of thousands of meridian observations; many double and variable stars have been discovered and assiduously observed; the distances of the fixed-stars have been determined; the motions of stars in the line of sight have been accurately fixed by spectroscopic observations; and it may be said that there is no investigation relating to the stars in which America does not hold an honorable place, while in some her position is, for the present at least, pre-eminent. The nebulæ have been studied to determine their forms, their spectra and their motions. The first photograph of a nebula was made here.

In spectroscopy, the instruments employed (diffraction-gratings

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on glass and on metal) have been made here; new forms of gratings have been discovered; and new and old spectroscopic methods have been applied to the study of the sun, the planets, the comets, the stars and nebulæ. Photography was first employed in the study of astronomical problems in New York and at the Harvard College Observatory, and it has since been applied in every possible direction, with the greatest success, to the production of pictures of the sun, moon, planets, comets, stars and nebulæ; to the study of the photometry of such bodies; to the registration of the phenomena of eclipses; to the production of stellar charts and maps on the grandest scale; to the investigation of stellar spectra; to the determination of the motion of the solar system in space; to the evaluation of the distance of the sun from the earth, *etc.*, *etc.*

The practical turn of Americans is well illustrated in the very general way in which they have applied astronomy to the uses of daily life; the public lands are laid off in rectangular plots; every important seaport has its noon time-ball to regulate the chronometers of ships; all railways and most towns have accurate time-signals furnished by observatories; local times are practically abolished, and standard time (which is nothing but the exact Greenwich minute and second with the hour decreased by five, six, seven or eight) is universally employed all over our extensive territory. It is worthy of notice that thousands of local times were changed into standard times over the whole of the United States in a single day, without the slightest accident or detention on more than one hundred thousand miles of railway.

The inventive faculty of our people which was developed by the exceptional difficulties of the early settlers has served us well in producing ingenious devices for saving labor, or increasing accuracy, in making astronomical observations. The chronograph for registering each beat of a clock by electricity, the collimating eye-piece, the horizontal photo-heliograph, Tallcott's method for determining the latitude, Sumner's method in navigation, the telegraphic method for fixing the longitude, the concave diffraction-grating, accurate photometers of various sorts, the bolometer for measuring heat-radiations from heavenly bodies, the interference methods of Michelson, apparatus for determining the velocity of light, and for investigating the motion of the ether—all these were either originally invented or devised here, or else they have been used in novel forms or applications so as to lead to noteworthy results.

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In mathematical astronomy America can refer to elaborate theories of the motions of the moon, the planets, the satellites; of the motions (and constitution) of the comets; determinations of the figure of the earth; of the law of periodic changes in terrestrial latitudes; of the masses of the planets and satellites; and to many new and important purely mathematical investigations in this department, which must be grouped in one phrase although they relate to many various fields. Our scientific text-books have a deservedly high repute and are used in many countries. Our astronomical journals hold a worthy position among their great European contemporaries, and some of them have reached a respectable age. The "American Journal of Science" was founded in 1818.

In the list which has gone before it has been extremely difficult to condense the description of really great achievements into single sentences so as not to do injustice. I hope that no one will suspect these brief sentences of conveying indiscriminate and undeserved laudation. It is only the adept who can rightly judge; but the most casual reader may be assured that he will there find only recitals of bald facts, easily verified by anyone who will take the necessary pains, and entirely free from any desire to exaggerate the merits of our countrymen. In another century we may perhaps be willing to boast of our results. Even now, we have every reason to feel confidence in the future since the performance of the past has not been unworthy of our opportunity.

The history of the progress of astronomy in America is primarily a history of men and secondarily of institutions which they have founded. It ought to be written as one chapter in the history of science in general,[1] since all the sciences grew together. Until the Revolution (1776) American science was but English science transplanted; and it looked to the Royal Society of London (founded in 1661) as its patron. Winthrop, Franklin, Rittenhouse were more or less English astronomers. Franklin was the sturdiest American of the three, and as early as 1743 he suggested the formation of the American Philosophical Society of Philadelphia. John Adams founded the American Academy of Arts and Sciences in Boston in 1780. These two societies, together with Harvard College (founded in 1636), Yale College (1701), the University of Virginia (1825),

[1] Dr. Goode's brilliant and scholarly essay on the origin of the National, Scientific and Educational Institutions in the United States, (1890), is the best history of the sort now in print.

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and the Military Academy at West Point (1801), were the foci from which the light of learning spread.

West Point, in particular, was the leading school of science, and continued to be so until the Civil War. It gave from its corps of professors and students two chiefs to the United States Coast-Survey, and many skilled observers to that useful establishment and to the various boundary surveys, besides a very large number of professors and teachers of science to the colleges of the country. The Naval Academy (1845) and the Navy furnished many astronomers of distinction and a host of meritorious observers. The Coast-Survey was established in 1807. Hassler, its first chief, was a professor from West Point, and he gave it a thoroughly scientific direction. Bache, a graduate of West Point, was the true father of the Institution. Under his leadership the Survey became a school of thorough-going theory and practice. He was most ably seconded by Gould and Walker, who brought the "American" (telegraphic) method of determining longitudes to perfection, and obtained the transatlantic longitude by this means. Gould also was the first to establish a system of "fundamental" and homogeneous star-places.

The establishment of the Naval Observatory at Washington was proposed by John Quincy Adams in 1825, but it was not founded till 1844. Its first corps of astronomers (Walker, Coffin, Hubbard) had adopted the German methods of Gauss, Bessel and Struve, and it is for this reason that American astronomy is a daughter of German and not of English science. Something like a generation has been saved to American practical astronomers by the wise choice of their first masters. It is only within the last ten years or so that English practical astronomy has generally taken the same direction. Our Naval Observatory has not uniformly maintained its high position of the years 1844–1848, but its first astronomers were the fathers of practical astronomy in this country, and it has always contained mathematicians and astronomers of the first rank.

The American Ephemeris and Nautical Almanac was founded in 1849, and it was also controlled by German methods. The credit for this must be assigned to Peirce of Harvard College and to Gould. Its pupils (Newcomb, Hall, Hill, Ferrel, Runkle and others) have most effectively cultivated the fields of mathematical astronomy, and have spread its doctrines through example and by precept. The Royal Astronomical Society of London has, since 1823, given its gold medal for remarkable achievements in astronomy. The medal

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has been bestowed upon foreigners as follows: 15 Germans, 6 Americans, 6 Frenchmen, 4 Italians, 2 Russians, 1 Dane, 1 Swede (including the year 1892). Count Rumford, an American, founded the Royal Institution of London (1800). The debt was richly repaid by the establishment of the Smithsonian Institution in Washington (1829) by an Englishman. Under the wise administration of Henry (1846–1878) and his successors it became a centre for all departments of learning; and in particular, a firm supporter of astronomy. These various Institutions and societies have been of the greatest use to American science. They sustained its first steps by efficient aid; they influenced the Government to subsidize important enterprises; and they acted as conservative, organized forces to keep its sources pure. The influence of Bache, Agassiz and Henry cannot be overvalued.

It is impossible, even in the briefest sketch, not to emphasize the debt of American science and learning to the intelligent interest and patronage of our early Presidents—to Washington, John Adams, Jefferson, Madison, Monroe, John Quincy Adams. The powerful impetus given by and through them has shaped the liberal policy of our Governments, National and State, towards science and towards education. Sir Lyon Playfair, in his address to the British Association for the Advancement of Science (1885), recognized this in the truest and most graceful way. He said:

> "In the United Kingdom, we are just beginning to understand the wisdom of Washington's Farewell Address to his Countrymen (1796) when he said, 'Promote, as an object of primary importance, institutions for the increase and diffusion of knowledge; in proportion as the structure of a government gives force to public opinion, it is essential that public opinion should be enlightened.'"

The translation of the *Mécanique Céleste* of Laplace by Bowditch, the supercargo of a Boston ship (1815–17), marks an epoch in American science. One of her sister-ships was visited at Genoa by a European astronomer (Baron de Zach) who found that the latest methods of working lunar distances were known to all on board, sailors as well as officers. He expressed his surprise that methods not yet entirely familiar to professional astronomers in Europe should be employed by the officers of a Yankee trader; and his bewilderment reached its climax when the navigator called the negro cook from the galley and bade him expound the method of determining the longitude by lunar distances to the distinguished visitor. I think this could have happened only in an American ship in the

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palmy days of democracy. It could not happen now: but it illustrates somewhat of the road over which we have travelled.

The first observatories in America were erected for the observation of the transit of Venus in 1769. The earliest permanent establishments were founded at Chapel Hill, N. C. (1831); Williams College (1836); Hudson, Ohio (1838); Philadelphia High School (1840)—the last two in connection with the United States Coast Survey longitude campaigns; at Dorchester and Washington (1838–42)—these two in connection with Wilkes's Exploring Expedition. The observatory of West Point was established in 1840; the Harvard College Observatory in 1844 and the Naval Observatory in 1842; the Cincinnati Observatory, by Mitchel, in 1845. To Mitchel, more than to any other one man, we owe that wide-spread *popular* interest in astronomy, which has led to the foundation of so many private and college observatories; to such bequests as those of Josiah Quincy, Robert Treat Paine, Boyden, Loomis, Miss Bruce, and others; and to such establishments as the Dudley, Washburn, McCormick, Lick and Yerkes observatories (to name no others of a long list).

The college observatory has, in fact, become a feature of every important American institution of learning. The names of Loomis; Walker, Kendall; Bond, Winlock, Pickering, Safford, Rogers, Chandler; Runkle; Young, Boss; Norton, Twining, Olmsted, Lyman, Newton, Gibbs, Elkin; Rees; Bartlett; Maria Mitchell; Breunnow, Watson; Chauvenet; Peters; Hough; Stockwell, Michelson; Langley, Keeler; Pritchett; Payne; Comstock; Hagen; Abbe, Stone, Porter; Leavenworth; Hale; Upton;—and others, suggest highly important services by college astronomers, either in original investigation, skilled observation or intelligent instruction. I have omitted the names of the astronomers of the Lick Observatory of the University of California from this list, although some of them deserve a distinguished place in it.

America has taken an important part in astronomical expeditions to foreign countries. Omitting all reference to numerous and successful Transit of Venus and Eclipse expeditions to all parts of the world, the missions of Gilliss to Chile (1849); of Gould and Thome to the Argentine Republic (1870–1893); of American naval officers (1878–1890) to carry a chain of telegraphic longitudes around the world; the various transatlantic longitude campaigns made for the United States Coast Survey by Bond, Gould and Hilgard—all of these deserve a place alongside the famous expeditions of Halley, Johnson,

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Lacaille, Herschel, Struve, Gill, with which we are familiar and which we remember with honor.

It is interesting to notice the dependence of the arts upon the sciences, and conversely, of the sciences upon the arts. In the year 1820 a piece of optical glass six inches in diameter was practically unattainable. In the year 1822 Fresnel proposed his new system of making light-house lenses and the demand for large pieces of glass was thus created. The demand arose in consequence of a luminous scientific idea. The arts responded and the method of making large pieces of glass is now well understood and large object-glasses are common. Science has thus profited by the advance in the arts which it originally inspired, as indeed it does by every such advance. In 1821 the largest refracting telescope in the world (Herschel's and South's) was five inches in aperture.[1] The Dorpat refractor (1824) was 9.6 inches; the Pulkowa and Harvard College refractors (1844) are 15 inches; the Chicago telescope[2] (1861) is 18½ inches; the Newall telescope (1865) is 25; the Washington telescope[2] (1873) is 26; the Vienna (1881) is 27; the new Pulkowa refractor[2] (1885) is 30; the Lick telescope[2] (1888) is 36; the Yerkes telescope[2] (1893 ?) is to be 40 inches.

It was considered to be a matter of course, until comparatively lately, that the mountings for such instruments should come from abroad. But the mounting of the Lick telescope (by Warner & Swasey, of Cleveland) is probably the best in existence. The revolving domes to cover these giant instruments are complicated affairs, but I think it safe to say that those made in America are at least as good as any. American-made spectroscopes, eye-pieces, microscopes, chronographs, micrometers, *etc.*, *etc.*, are, I think, quite equal to any. Our instruments for accurate surveys are especially excellent. The finest micrometer-screw known is that made by Professor Rowland, of Johns Hopkins University. The diffraction-gratings of Dr. Lewis Rutherfurd, of New York, were unrivalled until Professor Rowland invented a machine to rule better ones, which latter are the *only* ones now used for exact spectroscopic work all over the world. Brashear's (and Clark's) flats and prisms are the best I have seen. America has yet to produce the very highest grades of astronomical clocks and chronometers and of meridian-circles. Extremely good ones are now

[1] One of the "*finders*" of the Lick telescope has an aperture of six inches.

[2] All these were made by Alvan Clark and Sons. We have another equally skilled maker in Brashear of Pittsburg.

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made here, but they lack those last faithful and intelligent touches which bring superior excellence in their train, and which demand iifelong practice in the workman. In every department, then, of optical and mechanical work, American makers have put themselves n the front-rank of progress. Our young men are receiving scientific instruction of the highest class in dozens of American colleges. The best intellectual spirit prevails everywhere. Scientific research has won the confidence and the support of the public.

In what has gone before, I have set down soberly, modestly and in the briefest way, a summary of the achievements of American astronomy, and I have barely indicated the course of its development. It is a record of which any country might well be proud. It would be easy for any competent person to point out a few departments in which our work has been least successful. But this is not the place for such strictures, which, moreover, are becoming less and less necessary, day by day. The body of positive achievement is immense, when we consider the circumstances under which it was attained. If we continue to be true to the traditions handed down to us by Franklin, Bowditch, Henry, Walker, Peirce, Bond, Bache, Gilliss, Coffin, Hubbard, Peters, Lyman, Chauvenet—those high-minded and illustrious scholars—we need not fear for the future.

EDWARD S. HOLDEN.

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A TRAMP CENSUS AND ITS REVELATIONS.

THIS article gives the results of investigations made by myself here and abroad on the subject of tramps. In these investigations, little use was made of printed matter. Original sources were consulted in every case, and facts were above all sought at the hands of tramps themselves and of those who have been brought most intimately into association with them. To this end correspondence was held with officials or others in nearly every one of our States, in England, Germany, and France, and even in China and among several of our North American Indian tribes. Much of the field was found to be substantially new; none of it was as yet fully occupied.

I had no illusions as to the probable trustworthiness of the tramp's testimony concerning himself; but I thought and still think that any evidence offered by him adverse to himself might be accepted as probably true. To secure this testimony blocks of blanks were sent to the mayors of about forty cities and returns were obtained from fourteen. The answers were taken down for the most part by police officers, to whom I am under great obligations. A separate blank was used for each person, and I have therefore 1,349 more or less complete autobiographies to work from. The mere tabulation of the answers required 234 hours of rapid work by two persons, and in its final condensed form the matter covers twenty pages of legal cap, with seventeen columns on a page. The line of inquiry pursued will presently appear. Thirty-two questions seemed ample, but an important one was after all omitted. I have not ceased to lament my thoughtlessness in not inserting the inquiry, "Did you ever belong to a Labor Union of any kind, and do you now belong to one?" But doubtless everybody concerned found the list as it stands quite long enough. And one poor victim is on record as remarking at the close of his catechetical exercise, "That's a devil of a lot of questions to ask a fellow for a night's lodgings!"

Answers to questions of similar scope, but of not quite the same detail, were secured for my use by Mr. William Vallance, the well-known Secretary of the Board of Guardians for the Poor in Whitechapel,

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London, from 841 inmates of the Casual Ward of his Union, during October, 1891. My conclusions are therefore drawn from 2,190 cases treated individually with systematic care and particularity; besides which I was able to make comparisons with the tabulated records of 52,335 cases in the labor colonies of Germany as given up to 1890 in a work just published, and continued down to 1892 in the official organ of the Central committee—a total period of ten years.

So far as I know, the largest undertaking of a kind at all similar heretofore attempted was made in London in 1889. I had not heard of it when I began and have not yet seen its particulars. Besides covering only 286 cases it seems to have fallen far short of this one in the detail aimed at, and for the most part secured.

More than half, 57.4 per cent, of our 1,349 American tramps have trades, employments, or professions requiring more or less skill; 41.4 per cent are unskilled laborers. Only sixteen individuals would avow that they had no regular calling. There was one professional "gentleman," and if we include him there are ninety-eight different vocations represented. A psychologist might remark with curiosity concerning these that forty-six per cent of the skilled laborers are engaged in occupations which require constant locomotion, as sailors, firemen, teamsters, and brakemen, or are in employments associated with these occupations, such as shoemakers, curriers, hostlers, blacksmiths, and horseshoers; while 3.6 per cent more are in a trade which is drawn upon for some of the most striking figures illustrative of the unrest and transitoriness of human existence—I mean the weavers. There were one artist—a real German count; two reporters; two brokers; a Salvation Army captain; a designer; three electricians; one music teacher. The sedentary clerk was just as numerous as the nomadic peddler. There were no clergymen and, strange to say, not a single "professor."

Following my results, we may expect to find one tramp in twenty under 20 years of age; three out of five under 35; seventy-five out of every hundred under 40 and one in twelve 50 or over; only one in one hundred and eleven will be over 70. Nearly all in the prime of life! They average much younger than the English contingent, where fifty-four per cent were under 40, against our seventy-five per cent—though the majority of them, too, are in the prime of life. The German tramp, like the English, is older than ours; sixty-one out of every one hundred being under 40, against our seventy-four and the English fifty-four. But a large majority of them, also, are in the full

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vigor of manhood. So the age of the tramp is no hindrance to his working.

But what of his health? Remember here that the inquiry was made in the dead of winter, while the grippe was raging among our well-housed, well-fed, well-to-do people and the general death-rate was at a point rarely, if ever, reached before. Remember, too, that the answers came from the tramps themselves, who would hardly have underestimated the gravity of their ailments. Well, just 8.5 per cent of them claimed to be suffering from bad health; eight per cent thought their health was only "pretty good," or "not very good," while 83.5 per cent averred roundly that their health was "good." In England, 2.5 per cent were in bad health, while infirmities of various kinds reckoned 6.1 per cent more. There are no statistical data from the *Arbeiter Kolonien*, but I have every reason to believe both from the general literature of the subject and from interviews which I have had with men who have followed tramping in Germany that there is the same prevalence of excellent health there. Neither the tramp's age nor his health, then, is a bar to successful labor.

I will not stop for the question, "When did you last work at your regular occupation or at anything?" From the next, "When did you take to the road?" it appears that a third of them took to the road, according to their own admission, within twenty-four hours after their last job of real work; nearly half of them within a week, and four-fifths of them within four weeks of its close. A sad enough exhibition, this, of hand-to-mouth living, excusable least of all in unmarried men, such as they nearly all are. Only fifty-six, or 4.6 per cent, admit having been on the road more than a year. This hardly corresponds with our preconceptions, but it may be more nearly true than we might imagine.

We should know in advance what answer to expect to the question, "Why did you take to the road?" "Looking for work," "Out of work," or "Out of money," is of course the reply of most of them, of 82.8 per cent, in fact. Among the remainder there is considerable variety, and now and then admirable candor. Eight were "tired of work," or "wanted to take life easy," or were "after soft living"; twelve "wanted to see the country"; six said plainly, "Won't work"; twenty-five charged it to "whiskey" or "drink," and one made it "whiskey and lazy"; while sixteen, or 1.3 per cent, declared their "preference" or a "roving disposition" to have been the responsible cause.

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The Whitechapel casuals show less than three per cent "out of work," as against our eighty-three per cent; idleness, 3.3 per cent against our 1.1 per cent; drink, 25.9 per cent against our two per cent; vagrant habits, 57.1 per cent against our wretched 2.3 per cent; which makes us hide our heads in shame at the superior frankness or greater humility of the Briton, until we remember that our fellow-countrymen are here taken at their own rating, while their transatlantic competitor is partly rated by the superintendent of the casual ward. "When are you going to work?" I asked. And eighteen per cent were frank enough to say, "I don't know," while two per cent, with absolute sincerity, say, "Never." The rest were of course intending to work whenever they could get work. But when they were presently asked, "Have you tried to get work to-day?" over fifty-five per cent were unwary enough to say "No." This is not conclusive, but it is suggestive.

There were one North American Indian and thirteen blacks among the answers concerning color. There is only one Southern State represented, and not one of the thirteen blacks is from it. By the way, few of the Southern States recognize the tramp by name in their laws. He seems to be a product of our Northern civilization and to move along the more temperate belt, avoiding extremes of heat and cold as being more disagreeable and less favorable to health.

In order of nativity, America heads the list with 56.1 per cent; Ireland is next with 20.3 per cent; England follows with 6.6 per cent; the Scandinavian peninsula with 3.4 per cent; Scotland with 2.6 per cent. The remainder are scattered over fourteen nationalities, in order as follows: Austria, France, and Switzerland alike; Poland and Wales alike—four each; Belgium, Holland, Finland, and Italy, two each; Cuba, Denmark, Jamaica, Russia, and "Scotch-Irish," one each.

The Whitechapel tramps are far more homogeneous ethnically. Though thirteen countries are represented, there are only four of them which are not under the British crown, and the total element from beyond the British Isles, which includes, by the way, eight Americans, is only 3.2 per cent, against the 43.9 per cent of our foreign-born tramps. So England's problem in this as in some other respects is far simpler than ours. In the *Arbeiter* Colony statistics, the national element does not even appear. All seems to be German. And in a great cosmopolitan city like Paris it is curious to see what a very slight sprinkling of other than French nationalities appears in their pauper statistics.

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It is surely worth noticing that 1,187 of our tramps read and write; eighteen more can read, not write; and only 9.94 per cent can neither read nor write. And to newspaper men it must be truly gratifying to know that one of the items on which they are most apt to spend money is the daily newspaper. Consequently when you see their pockets bulging out, you may believe that it is literature which is distending them! Unhappily, I have no way of establishing a comparison between them and their Teutonic and British brethren in respect to this, but I think it would be safe to defy the others to beat us.

My next question was: "When did you last vote?" The answers which came to this set me upon the track of that *excursus* on Venal Voting about which I wrote in THE FORUM for September and October, 1892. Such lovers of newspapers as the tramp has been seen to be ought to be ideal citizens—well-informed, fair-minded, patriotic, and incorruptible. If they are not; if there are, as one of my correspondents assures me, a thousand of them in New York City alone who vote many times each at every important election, and each time for a consideration, there are it is to be feared numerous persons in city and country all over this broad land who are by no means tramps, but who will envy them their privilege.

Only 7.3 per cent of the 1,239 enumerated are now married, while 4.4 per cent more are widowers. Their total of children is 215, or considerably less than two to a marriage. What has been well described as the bond which a man gives to society for his good behavior is, therefore, almost wholly lacking here; and even when given it is generally forfeited, in so many instances have wife and children drifted out of the tramp's sight. Thus, in only two cases were wife and children in the same town with the man questioned; in twenty-nine they were in the same State; in thirty in another State; in nine in a foreign country; in eight the wife was dead and the children were unknown; in sixteen the wife was dead and the children were in another State or country. What a picture of desolation, however viewed!

About one tramp in five sleeps in police-stations, one in three in lodging-houses. One in eight sleep "wherever they can," and there is a total of 97 who sleep commonly in box-cars, barns, aboard ship, in paper-mills, water-closets, out-doors, etc. Next to this miscellaneous group of sleeping-places are such establishments as the Wayfarers' Home, Boston, and the Wayfarers' Rest, Louisville. Thirty-one tramps commonly sleep at hotels, twenty at mission-houses. Then there are thirty or forty scattered over engine-house, jail, livery-sta-

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ble, lumber-camp, poor-house, Salvation Army barracks, and railway shanty. From private inquiry I am able to add churches and school-houses. A pretty general tribute, therefore, is laid upon nearly every kind of building, both public and private, and the overflow lie down in the open and no doubt sleep very comfortably. *Bei Mutter Grün*, at "Mother Green's," a German tramp tells me they call this latter lodging-house. And the amount of comfort, or even of luxury, that can be got out of a bit of turf, with inequalities in it which fit roughly into the hills and dales of the human anatomy, on a clear night, after a long walk and simple meal, can be testified to still by many survivors of the late Civil War. This impartiality of the tramp in his choice of a chamber is of importance in connection with the question of his possible instrumentality in disseminating disease.

"Are you temperate, intemperate, or abstainer?" Who would have guessed that thirty of the 1,314 who consented to be interviewed on this delicate subject could have been induced to admit that they were abstainers? Yet so it is. And I quite believe all of them except such as may have happened to be intoxicated at the time the question was asked. Four hundred and fifty-nine claimed to be "temperate." This is known to be an elastic word, whether on the lips of club men, tramps, or convicts. But in its use my tramp friends seem to have been considerably less reckless than some. Thus, out of 1,832 persons committed to Hartford jail last year, 1,742 gave themselves out as "moderate drinkers," though the companion record shows that 978 of them were in for drunkenness. And only eighty-nine put themselves down as "habitually intemperate," not quite five per cent. Of the tramps, on the contrary, 825, or 62.8 per cent, openly admit that they are intemperate. Go through the list of your respectable, intemperate friends now, and try to imagine whether sixty-three per cent of them would admit, even to you, the exact truth concerning themselves.

Was it mere bravado, flippant indifference, brutal candor that led to this confession? Or was it the sudden and perhaps solemn recognition of the fact, when confronted unexpectedly with the other main facts in their tragical situation as these fell from their own lips, that here was the *fons et origo* of their poverty, rags, homelessness, friendlessness, hopelessness—the fate that had long been pursuing them and would pursue them to their death? Such visions do come to the lonely. They must come with great force at times to these men so separate from their brethren. At all events, that moral causes, chief-

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est among them drunkenness, are mainly responsible for average vagabondage there can be no reasonable doubt, I think. There is a concurrence of testimony from tramps reformed and of facts from tramps unreformed, and a general consensus of opinion among police officers guardians of the poor, and persons engaged in rescue work, which is to me quite convincing. Or if this be not the chief cause I confess to have been unable to find any other. Economical influences are of course here and there instrumental. I could myself give authentic cases of men made tramps by the unreasonableness of strikes and the tyranny of Unions, and I have read of such in Germany. But such cases are the exception; the others are the rule.

Only five and eight-tenths per cent of our tramps confessed having been convicted of crime. Here I am afraid their previous spasm of truthfulness forsook them. That is but a little above the average criminality of the whole population of Hartford, and is only one-seventh that of Mr. Vallance's 841 Casual Ward inmates, and one-fourth that of the German labor colonies. Our patriotism could not endure the strain of crediting American vagrants with such an excess of virtue.

In fact, our friends suffered themselves to be caught in a snare; for to the next question, "Were you ever convicted of drunkenness?" 38.5 per cent of them answered, "Yes." But possibly they regarded drunkenness as no crime. One poor fellow, a veteran newspaper reporter, displayed the candor of his profession by admitting that he had been convicted 150 times. He had lost all hope of being anything but an awful warning.

Only one hundred and thirteen out of the 1,329 who answered admitted that they had no religion. A calculation based on certain figures in the "Statesman's Year Book" leads me to the conclusion that there are about 13.6 per cent of our total population, or about 5.4 per cent of our adults, who are not attached to some religious body. If all these be assumed to have no religion, the proportion of tramps without religion will exceed the general proportion by about fifty per cent. This is, however, scarcely more than careful guessing. In actual number the order stands thus: Roman Catholics, Lutherans, Methodists, Congregationalists, Presbyterians, Episcopalians, Baptists, and Dutch Reformed. There is also a considerable sprinkling of "Infidels" and "Free Thinkers." Jews are all but lacking.

Directly after the request for the tramp's name came the demand for the *Real Name*. It was hoped that in this way, by surprise, knowl-

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edge of aliases could be obtained. But either tramps are unusually self-collected and purposeless liars, or else they commonly go under their own name; for only thirteen aliases are given out of 1,349 answers, and some of these are obviously fabrications of the moment. My opinion is that the tramp usually goes under his own name.

Only one hundred and sixteen out of 1,056 admitted having been in the almshouse—a mistake, I fear. Of these the greater part gave winter or spring as the last time when they were there. This is only a hint, but it is quite in the direction we should have expected from what we know of the transient element in almshouse populations. When the robin comes the able-bodied pauper goes; and in a considerable number of cases he becomes the summer tramp. With the chilly nights of September he begins to drift back and winter finds him again in his sheltered home. The regularity of his migration would seem to suggest a possible remedy.

Nearly one-third admitted having been in hospitals at some time, many of them more than once. We occasionally hear of their dying in great neglect, but such, I think, are exceptional cases. Sixty-nine per cent of those who had been in hospitals were there at the public expense and so were technically paupers, and eighteen per cent more credited private individuals or corporations with their hospital charges.

Here, then, the political economist would say, is a body of 45,845 men—for that is my estimate of their number, made from the best attainable data—an army larger than Wellington's red-coats at Waterloo; eleven-twelfths of them are under fifty; five-sixths of them are in perfect health; three-fifths of them have trades or occupations requiring skill; over nine-tenths of them can read and write. And these persons, constituting over one-quarter of one per cent of our adult male population, are permanently withdrawn from productive work. That is not all: they bear no public burdens. In case of war the recruiting sergeant might be nimble enough to catch them, if bounties were high and bounty-jumping active; but the tax-gatherer never, in war or peace. The very roads which they wear they never repair.

Nor is this all. They are steady consumers. To support them, in the Open Hearth in Hartford, costs $2.80 per week; in the almshouse $2.56. And since institutional life is adopted by them only as a last resort, we may be sure that what they get outside is worth at least as much as the smaller of these sums. Add a conservative ten cents a

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day for drink, levied upon the public by begging, and two cents for tobacco, and you have not far from $3.50 per week, or about eight millions of dollars annually.

Then add police supervision. Every arrest in Hartford costs $15.68 simply in police hire. Then add hospital and dispensary charges. In fact, it can hardly be doubted that the average tramp costs nearly or quite as much as the worse sort of criminal whose cost, by a careful estimate that excludes, however, the original outlay for buildings, is in Hartford $4.40 per week. Call it only two hundred dollars a year and you have $9,169,000—a half more than the cost of the Indian Department and one-half the cost of our Navy. With it we could pay more than one-quarter of the interest of the public debt. And then we have their withdrawal from family ties and from legitimate procreation, and the demoralization of their example while they are idling, and of their competition during their spasms of work. Can we wonder, on the whole, if at such a prospect the political economist raises his eyebrows and shakes his head?

There are two diseases of special loathsomeness, associated one of them with physical, the other with moral uncleanness, both known to be contagious. Out of 1,209 who answered the question it was found that nine and eight-tenths admitted having had one of these diseases and five and one-tenths the other at some time in their life. The late superintendent of the almshouse in Tewksbury, Mass., which has a population of over one thousand inmates, found that over fifty-two per cent of the males admitted in 1889–90 were suffering from some form of disease denoting sexual impurity. To ascertain the significance of these facts I sent letters of inquiry to four eminent specialists, professors in our best-known medical colleges, experienced practitioners, students, and writers, Dr. W. R. Taylor, of the College of Physicians and Surgeons, New York; Dr. W. W. Kean, of Jefferson College, and Dr. J. Williams White, of the University Medical School, Philadelphia; and Dr. James C. White, of the Harvard Medical School. Their answers agree on every material point and are substantially as follows: 1. As to the disease generally associated with moral taint (1) it is often disfiguring, always dangerous; (2) it may be contracted by the morally pure through contact of any kind with infected persons or things; (3) in whatever way contracted it is transmissible by heredity; (4) the danger of diffusion of the disease among the community by tramps is real and serious; (5) it ought to be averted by legislative interference which should take the form of

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detention of the diseased in whatever institution he may be found until the danger point is passed, or else of effectual inspection and restraint.[1]

The tramp as seen by those who lodge him was another branch of my inquiry. Blanks bearing on this subject were sent to one hundred and ten chiefs of police and two heads of wayfarers' lodges. Answers came from thirty-three of the former and from both of the latter. They cover the manner of lodging, food, cleanliness, conditions insisted upon, and so on. Only five admit having tried to find outside work for their vagrant guests. In ten instances, however, opportunities for such work had been offered, by farmers and others, and in four of these the result had been good; in two bad; in two the opportunities were always refused; in one abused.

Early in the seventies, when as many as one hundred and fifty tramps could be found in a single night in the Hartford police station, a mill proprietor came in and asked for half a dozen hands. With considerable difficulty they were obtained and transported to his establishment. He gave them their breakfast, set them to work, and went back for his own breakfast. When he returned every one of them was gone! A second experiment had the same result.

Berlin has a Labor Colony with a capacity of two hundred persons, and there are thirty-four other shelters there, capacity not given, most of them with intelligence bureaus attached; and there is a city lodging-house holding six hundred and always full, besides an ample supply of workhouses and the like. Nevertheless, the director of the street-cleaning department is constantly embarrassed for lack of laborers. One morning when he had only five hundred or six hundred men, and wanted fifteen hundred to clear away a fall of snow, he went to the workhouse and with much persuasion got together one hundred recruits. Arrived at the scene of activity, they demanded to a man prepayment of the day's wages; and on refusal ninety-nine of the hundred left. Notice here that of the 22,868 men who were in the German Labor Colonies between 1885 and 1889, only a quarter left to take definite work, while more than half left because they "preferred to go." And do not forget that fifty-five per cent of our tramps admitted not having sought work the day they were

[1] These facts have been placed before the Health Committee of the Connecticut legislature and a favorable report upon an act has been adopted and has passed the Senate. Massachusetts has had such a law since 1891.

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lodged. On the whole, it appears plain to me that the average tramp is in search of nothing so little as downright systematic work.

What the philanthropists have done, or attempted for the tramp must be passed over with only brief mention. I have a large amount of material bearing upon the casual-ward system in England and the Labor Colonies of Germany, with their more or less allied network of *Herbergen zur Heimath*, Home Refuges, and *Verpflegungsstationen*, or Houses of Entertainment. Of the Labor Colonies there were twenty-four in May, 1892, with a total capacity of 2,900. They have taken in 52,335 persons since their foundation nearly ten years ago. The name best known in association with them is that of Pastor von Bodelschwingh, of Bielefeld in Westphalia. General Booth is introducing a substantial copy in the neighborhood of London, and the French are trying a similar experiment at La Chalmelle in the Department of Marne, under the control of the Common Council of Paris. The Labor Colonies are by no means an unmitigated good. They have not come up to the expectation of their founders. But there seems no reason to doubt that things are better with than they were without them. Can much more than this be affirmed concerning many of our philanthropic enterprises?

The *Herberge zur Heimath* is a cheap tavern. Professor Clemens Theodor Perthes founded the first one in 1854 in Bonn. It is what Germans would call a temperance inn for travelling artisans; that is, nothing stronger than beer is sold there and a religious atmosphere and a mild discipline dominates in them. There are now 390 of these inns, with 13,000 beds.

The *Verpflegungsstationen* are lodging-houses where people work for what they get. On the night of December 15–16, 1891, there were 9,216 persons housed in them and the average for the year was 5,304. The average cost a day was 16.1 cents. They vary greatly in accommodation, work required, regulations, and manner of sustentation. For reasons variously stated, commonly lack of support, I see that a number of them have been closed this last year.

The very completeness of the system in Germany suggests an obvious danger. The country is literally mapped out, and by conforming to the few simple regulations as to tickets there seems to be no reason why grist once emptied into the mill should not go on grinding forever. I have myself talked with a German, a very bright fellow, who tells me that he spent the three years following the close of his apprenticeship tramping up and down the most charming stretches of

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the Rhine, working only just enough to keep his papers alive, and to have money in his pocket sufficient to meet the trifling outlays for lodging. How his eyes danced as he told of his experiences! In fair weather he and his friends slept by preference "at Mother Green's," their packs, with all valuables, carefully tucked under their heads; their companions stretched out hither and thither along the edge of the road. *Chausséegrabentapezirer*, highway-ditch upholsterers, is one of their favorite names for the craft. Then up and away early, while the air is cool and the dew is on the grapes—"Ah, how sweet they smell!" he exclaimed, with a sigh of longing. "*Grüss Matilda!*" is the cheery cry of recognition to the fellow-craftsmen whom they meet. The houses are carefully watched, and when they see one where coffee is being served that is where they stop for breakfast, seldom asking in vain. Then halt and rest under this shady tree! Eat of its fruit, then take a nap:—"*Man muss sich schonen, nicht wahr!*" One must spare one's self, must he not! But be sure to waken in time to make a *Herberge* before the doors are shut; for it looks like rain; and you have a few pennies still left and your papers are genuine or else skilfully forged; you need not fear the *Blitzableiter*—"the lightning-rod": that is the policeman. And in the Herberge take your beer and your pipe. And search out the *Bienen* (Bees!) in your clothes before you go to bed. And hang your garments up so that there will be a clean space on the line between them and your neighbor's. And so, On! one day after another, until *Vater Weiss*, Father White, covers Mutter Grün with his cold mantle, driving you from her hospitable embrace.

"The pleasantest life in the world!" he ejaculated.

But two of his friends who sat by and listened were not of his mind. And I have the written testimony of an American ex-tramp of long-established respectability, "For eighteen-carat misery, commend me to the life of the tramp."

To trace out the anti-tramp laws required the examination of certainly four hundred volumes of Statutes and the preparation of abstracts for every one of the forty-four States. The tramp first appeared legally in 1876, in New Jersey. There are now nineteen States which mention him specifically and two more refer to him in their indexes or in their definition of vagrant. Of the remaining States, North and South Dakota have never recognized Beggar, Vagrant, Vagabond, or Tramp, either while they were Territories or since. Oregon had a full-fledged tramp law but repealed it absolutely in 1889. Minnesota

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only mentions "vagrant infants" and allows her communities complete home rule and local option in the matter of tramps, while West Virginia objects to public begging but leaves all else untouched.

Nearly all the real tramp laws have a panicky look which suggests a pressing evil, real or imaginary; and the history of the amendments of some and the enforcement of all is curious, and occasionally amusing. In more than one instance convictions have almost literally ceased the moment rewards or liberal fees for arrests were abolished. In one State it is easy to read in her successive statutes how officers began to lure tramps into their bailiwicks, and to encourage them to stay for the incidental pickings; until the penalties, which had set out with blood-curdling ferocity trampward, ended in portentous severity constableward. In two Southern States we find sale at auction established by law. Standing at the court-house door the officer knocks down the vagabond to the highest bidder. In one of the States there seem to have been few, or no enforcements. In the other there is evidence of enforcement and of excited feeling among the blacks at the renewal of scenes which recall so vividly the days of slavery.

Strange terms appear in remote Western States. Who could guess what a "Check guerilla" is? He is a person who hangs around gambling-houses begging checks in order that he may try his fortune at the game! And how much could I not relate, if I had space, of tramp printers and barbers; of the collection and dissemination of information among the gentlemen of the road; of proofs of periodicity; of illustrations of the persistency of the vagabond instinct gathered from missionaries among the Indians and from observation of gypsy life. I seem, indeed, to have left almost the most interesting part of my material. But I must close.

An official to whom I addressed the inquiry, "What in your opinion is the best solution of the tramp problem?" replied, "Repeal the McKinley bill and so restore prosperity." Allow me to give the best answer I can to a question of exceeding difficulty.

1. Stop lodging tramps in police-stations. Tramps are paupers. Why should they, any more than any other pauper unconvicted of crime, be kept in a cell in the company of criminals?

2. If we must keep them in the police-stations, separate them from the criminal section. And let the place be clean, well ventilated, and free from vermin.

3. Of two things one: Inspect every applicant and lodge the vermin-free apart from the others; or cleanse and disinfect every gar-

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ment with hot steam, furnishing a bath and a sleeping garment for the night. This is successfully done in the English Casual Wards. The public health requires it and so does a decent regard for the little group of honest unfortunates who are conceivably mixed up with the great horde of the lazy and vicious. And let the town doctor be on hand every evening, to inspect all the lodgers and to order the detention of those who have contagious disease.

4. Adopt a careful system of registration. The German Labor Colony, though a private institution, does not shrink from this, and requires the noting of eighteen different items, including physical peculiarities.

5. Require a pass-book and stamp upon it date and place of lodging. Repel the applicant on transgression of certain conditions as to the period of return, and arrest him on transgression of others.

6. Wherever these people are lodged require labor of some kind as an equivalent. Why should a man be allowed to spend what he has begged or earned, on theatre or drink or licentiousness, and then be taken in for free lodging at public expense?

7. Let communities or counties join together and establish labor-stations where every honest applicant may find temporary occupation and not be obliged to choose between starving, begging, and stealing.

8. Let them join also in founding places of detention, under whatever name, to which incorrigible vagrants may be committed for indeterminate periods and where they may both learn to work and overcome the habit of idleness. It is a habit easy to acquire and hard to get rid of. State's prison will not answer. As above hinted, you cannot get tramps sent there except under stress of extraordinary excitement, the fruit of special and ephemeral terror or indignation.

9. So move public opinion that all the States may presently be under uniform vagrant laws and covered by a network of labor-stations under general management, to the end that the genuine man may never be driven to far and bitter wandering, and that the fraud may never wander so far but that he shall be finally caught and surely sifted out.

10. Get people to stop absolutely giving little coins to beggars. If they must needs make themselves "feel good" at small outlay, let them seek out some fashion less expensive to others.

11. Experiment with the drink question until you find some way of interfering with the present *ad libitum* manufacture and *ad infinitum* prolongation of that whole noisome and unhappy breed of which the tramp is only one variety.

J. J. McCook.

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BIG GAME DISAPPEARING IN THE WEST.

It has been my good-luck to kill every kind of game properly belonging to the United States: though one beast which I never had a chance to slay, the jaguar, from the torrid South, sometimes comes just across the Rio Grande; nor have I ever hunted the musk-ox and polar bear in the boreal wastes where they dwell, surrounded by the frozen desolation of the uttermost North.

There are, in different parts of our country, chances to try so many various kinds of hunting, with rifle or with horse and hound, that it is nearly impossible for one man to have experience of them all. There are many hunts I long hoped to take, but never did and never shall; they must be left for men with more time, or for those whose homes are nearer to the hunting grounds. I have never seen a grisly roped by the riders of the plains, nor a black bear killed with the knife and hounds in the southern canebrakes; though at one time I had for many years a standing invitation to witness this last feat on a plantation in Arkansas. The friend who gave it, an old backwoods planter, at one time lost almost all his hogs by the numerous bears who infested his neighborhood. He took a grimly humorous revenge each fall by doing his winter killing among the bears instead of among the hogs they had slain; for as the cold weather approached he regularly proceeded to lay in a stock of bear-bacon, scouring the canebrakes in a series of systematic hunts, bringing the quarry to bay with the help of a big pack of hard-fighting mongrels, and then killing it with his long, broad-bladed bowie. Again, I should like to make a trial at killing peccaries with the spear, whether on foot or on horseback, and with or without dogs. I should like much to repeat the experience of a friend who cruised northward through Bering Sea, shooting walrus and polar bear; and that of two other friends who travelled with dog-sleds to the Barren Grounds, in chase of the caribou, and of that last survivor of the Ice Age, the strange musk-ox. Once in a while it must be good sport to shoot alligators by torchlight in the everglades of Florida or the bayous of Louisiana.

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Of American big game the bison, almost always known as the buffalo, was the largest and most important to man. When the first white settlers landed in Virginia the bison ranged east of the Alleghanies almost to the sea-coast, westward to the dry deserts lying beyond the Rocky Mountains, northward to the Great Slave Lake and southward to Chihuahua. It was a beast of the forests and mountains, in the Alleghanies no less than in the Rockies; but its true home was on the prairies, and the high plains. Across these it roamed, hither and thither, in herds of enormous, of incredible magnitude; herds so large that they covered the waving grass-land for hundreds of square leagues, and when on the march occupied days and days in passing a given point. But the seething myriads of shaggy-maned wild cattle vanished with remarkable and melancholy rapidity before the inroads of the white hunters, and the steady march of the oncoming settlers. Now they are on the point of extinction. Two or three hundred are left in that great national game-preserve, the Yellowstone Park; and it is said that others still remain in the wintry desolation of Athabasca. Elsewhere only a few individuals exist—probably considerably less than half a hundred all told—scattered in small parties in the wildest and most remote and inaccessible portions of the Rocky Mountains. A bison bull is the largest American animal. His huge bulk, his short, curved black horns, the shaggy mane clothing his great neck and shoulders, give him a look of ferocity which his conduct belies. Yet he is truly a grand and noble beast, and his loss from our prairies and forest is as keenly regretted by the lover of nature and of wild life as by the hunter.

My friend, Gen. W. H. Walker, of Virginia, had an experience in the early fifties with buffaloes on the upper Arkansas River, which gives some idea of their enormous numbers at that time. He was camped with a scouting party on the banks of the river, and had gone out to try to shoot some meat. There were many buffaloes in sight, scattered, according to their custom, in large bands. When he was a mile or two away from the river a dull roaring sound in the distance attracted his attention, and he saw that a herd of buffalo far to the south, away from the river, had been stampeded and was running his way. He knew that if he was caught in the open by the stampeded herd his chance for life would be small, and at once ran for the river. By desperate efforts he reached the breaks in the sheer banks just as the buffaloes reached them, and got into a position of safety on the pinnacle of a little bluff. From this point of

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vantage he could see the entire plain. To the very verge of the horizon the brown masses of the buffalo bands showed through the dust clouds, coming on with a thunderous roar like that of surf. Camp was a mile away, and the stampede luckily passed to one side of it. Watching his chance he finally dodged back to the tent, and all that afternoon watched the immense masses of buffalo, as band after band tore to the brink of the bluffs on one side, raced down them, rushed through the water, up the bluffs on the other side, and again off over the plain, churning the sandy, shallow stream into a ceaseless tumult. When darkness fell there was no apparent decrease in the numbers that were passing, and all through that night the continuous roar showed that the herds were still threshing across the river. Toward dawn the sound at last ceased, and General Walker arose somewhat irritated, as he had reckoned on killing an ample supply of meat, and he supposed that there would be now no bison left south of the river. To his astonishment, when he strolled up on the bluffs and looked over the plain, it was still covered far and wide with groups of buffalo, grazing quietly. Apparently there were as many on that side as ever, in spite of the many scores of thousands that must have crossed over the river during the stampede of the afternoon and night. The barren-ground caribou is the only American animal which is now ever seen in such enormous herds.

In 1862 Mr. Clarence King, while riding along the overland trail through western Kansas, passed through a great buffalo herd, and was himself injured in an encounter with a bull. The great herd was then passing north, and Mr. King reckoned that it must have covered an area nearly seventy miles by thirty in extent; the figures representing his rough guess, made after travelling through the herd crosswise, and upon knowing how long it took to pass a given point going northward. This great herd of course was not a solid mass of buffaloes; it consisted of innumerable bands of every size, dotting the prairie within the limits given. Mr. King was mounted on a somewhat unmanageable horse. On one occasion in following a band he wounded a large bull, and became so wedged in by the maddened animals that he was unable to avoid the charge of the bull, which was at its last gasp. Coming straight toward him it leaped into the air and struck the afterpart of the saddle full with its massive forehead. The horse was hurled to the ground with a broken back, and King's leg was likewise broken, while the bull turned a complete somerset over them and never rose again.

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In the recesses of the Rocky Mountains, from Colorado northward through Alberta, and in the depths of the sub-arctic forest beyond the Saskatchewan, there have always been found small numbers of the bison, locally called the mountain buffalo and wood buffalo; often indeed the old hunters term these animals "bison," although they never speak of the plains animals save as buffalo. They form a slight variety of what was formerly the ordinary plains bison, intergrading with it; on the whole they are darker in color, with longer, thicker hair, and in consequence with the appearance of being heavier-bodied and shorter-legged. They have been sometimes spoken of as forming a separate species; but, judging from my own limited experience, and from a comparison of the many hides I have seen, I think they are really the same animal, many individuals of the two so-called varieties being quite indistinguishable. In fact the only moderate-sized herd of wild bison in existence to-day, the protected herd in the Yellowstone Park, is composed of animals intermediate in habits and coat between the mountain and plains varieties—as were all the herds of the Bighorn, Big Hole, Upper Madison, and Upper Yellowstone valleys.

Though it was always more difficult to kill the bison of the forests and mountains than the bison of the prairie, yet now that the species is, in its wild state, hovering on the brink of extinction, the difficulty is immeasurably increased. A merciless and terrible process of natural selection, in which the agents were rifle-bearing hunters, has left as the last survivors in a hopeless struggle for existence only the wariest of the bison and those gifted with the sharpest senses. That this was true of the last lingering individuals that survived the great slaughter on the plains is well shown by Mr. Hornaday in his graphic account of his campaign against the few scattered buffalo which still lived in 1886 between the Missouri and the Yellowstone, along the Big Dry. The bison of the plains and the prairies have now vanished; and so few of their brethren of the mountains and the northern forests are left, that they can just barely be reckoned among American game; but whoever is so fortunate as to find any of these animals must work his hardest, and show all his skill as a hunter if he wishes to get one.

The king of the game beasts of temperate North America, because the most dangerous to the hunter, is the grisly bear; known to the few remaining old-time trappers of the Rockies and the Great Plains, sometimes as "Old Ephraim" and sometimes as "Moccasin

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Joe"—the last in allusion to his queer, half-human footprints, which look as if made by some misshapen giant, walking in moccasins. The grisly is now chiefly a beast of the high hills and heavy timber; but this is merely because he has learned that he must rely on cover to guard him from man, and has forsaken the open ground accordingly. In old days, and in one or two very out-of-the-way places almost to the present time, he wandered at will over the plains. It is only the wariness born of fear which nowadays causes him to cling to the thick brush of the large river-bottoms throughout the plains country. When there were no rifle-bearing hunters in the land, to harass him and make him afraid, he roved hither and thither at will, in burly self-confidence. Then he cared little for cover, unless as a weather-break, or because it happened to contain food he liked. If the humor seized him he would roam for days over the rolling or broken prairie, searching for roots, digging up gophers, or perhaps following the great buffalo herds either to prey on some unwary straggler which he was able to catch at a disadvantage in a washout, or else to feast on the carcasses of those which died by accident. Old hunters, survivors of the long-vanished ages when the vast herds thronged the high plains and were followed by the wild red tribes, and by bands of whites who were scarcely less savage, have told me that they often met bears under such circumstances; and these bears were accustomed to sleep in a patch of rank sage bush, in the niche of a washout, or under the lee of a boulder, seeking their food abroad even in full daylight. The bears of the Upper Missouri basin—which were so light in color that the early explorers often alluded to them as gray or even as "white"—were particularly given to this life in the open. To this day that close kinsman of the grisly known as the bear of the barren grounds continues to lead this same kind of life, in the far north. My friend Mr. Rockhill, of Maryland, who was the first white man to explore eastern Tibet, describes the large, grisly-like bear of those desolate uplands as having similar habits.

However, the grisly is a shrewd beast and shows the usual bear-like capacity for adapting himself to changed conditions. He has in most places become a cover-haunting animal, sly in his ways, wary to a degree, and clinging to the shelter of the deepest forests in the mountains and of the most tangled thickets in the plains. Hence he has held his own far better than such game as the bison and elk. He is much less common than formerly, but he is still to be found

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throughout most of his former range; save of course in the immediate neighborhood of the large towns.

Next to the bison in size, and much superior in height to it and to all other American game—for it is taller than the tallest horse—comes the moose, or broad-horned elk. It is a strange, uncouth-looking beast, with very long legs, short thick neck, a big, ungainly head, a swollen nose, and huge shovel horns. Its home is in the cold, wet pine and spruce forests, which stretch from the sub-arctic region of Canada southward in certain places across our frontier. Two centuries ago it was found as far south as Massachusetts. It has now been exterminated from its former haunts in northern New York and Vermont, and is on the point of vanishing from northern Michigan. It is still found in northern Maine and northeastern Minnesota and in portions of northern Idaho and Washington; while along the Rockies it extends its range southward through western Montana to northwestern Wyoming, south of the Tetons. In 1884 I saw the fresh hide of one that was killed in the Bighorn Mountains.

The wapiti, or round-horned elk, like the bison, and unlike the moose, had its centre of abundance in the United States, though extending northward into Canada. Originally its range reached from ocean to ocean and it went in herds of thousands of individuals; but it has suffered more from the persecution of hunters than any other game except the bison. By the beginning of this century it had been exterminated in most localities east of the Mississippi; but a few lingered on for many years in the Alleghanies. Colonel Cecil Clay informs me that an Indian whom he knew killed one in Pennsylvania in 1869. A very few still exist here and there in northern Michigan and Minnesota, and in one or two spots on the western boundary of Nebraska and the Dakotas; but it is now properly a beast of the wooded western mountains. It is still plentiful in western Colorado, Wyoming, and Montana, and in parts of Idaho, Washington, and Oregon. Though not so large as the moose it is the most beautiful and stately of all animals of the deer kind, and its antlers are marvels of symmetrical grandeur.

The woodland caribou is inferior to the wapiti both in size and symmetry. The tips of the many branches of its long, irregular antlers are slightly palmated. Its range is the same as that of the moose, save that it does not go so far southward. Its hoofs are long and round; even larger than the long, oval hoofs of the moose, and much larger than those of the wapiti. The tracks of all three can

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be told apart at a glance, and cannot be mistaken for the footprints of other game. Wapiti tracks, however, look much like those of yearling and two-year-old cattle, unless the ground is steep or muddy, in which case the marks of the false hoofs appear, the joints of wapiti being more flexible than those of domestic stock.

The whitetail deer is now, as it always has been, the best known and most abundant of American big game, and though its numbers have been greatly thinned it is still found in almost every State of the Union. The common blacktail or mule deer, which has likewise been sadly thinned in numbers, though once extraordinarily abundant, extends from the great plains to the Pacific; but is supplanted on the Puget Sound coast by the Columbian blacktail. The delicate, heart-shaped footprints of all three are nearly indistinguishable; when the animal is running the hoof points are of course separated. The track of the antelope is more oval, growing squarer with age. Mountain sheep leave footmarks of a squarer shape, the points of the hoof making little indentations in the soil, well apart, even when the animal is only walking; and a yearling's track is not unlike that made by a big prong-buck when striding rapidly with the toes well apart. White-goat tracks are also square, and as large as those of the sheep; but there is less indentation of the hoof points, which come nearer together.

The antelope, or prong-buck, was once found in abundance from the eastern edge of the great plains to the Pacific, but it has everywhere diminished in numbers, and has been exterminated along the eastern and western borders of its former range. The bighorn, or mountain sheep, is found in the Rocky Mountains from northern Mexico to Alaska; and in the United States from the Coast and Cascade ranges to the Bad Lands of the western edges of the Dakotas, wherever there are mountain chains or tracts of rugged hills. It was never very abundant, and, though it has become less so, it has held its own better than most game. The white goat, however, alone among our game animals, has positively increased in numbers since the advent of settlers; because white hunters rarely follow it, and the Indians who once sought its skin for robes now use blankets instead. Its true home is in Alaska and Canada, but it crosses our borders along the lines of the Rockies and Cascades, and a few small isolated colonies are found here and there southward to California and New Mexico. The cougar and wolf, once common throughout the United States, have now completely disappeared from all save

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the wildest regions. The black bear holds its own better; it was never found on the great plains. The little peccary or Mexican wild hog merely crosses our Southern border.

The finest hunting-ground in America was, and indeed is, the mountainous region of western Montana and northwestern Wyoming. In this high, cold land, of lofty mountains, deep forests, and open prairies, with its beautiful lakes and rapid rivers, all the species of big game mentioned above, except the peccary and Columbian black-tail, are to be found. Until 1880 they were very abundant, and they are still, with the exception of the bison, fairly plentiful. On most of the long hunting expeditions which I made away from my ranch, I went into this region. The bulk of my hunting has been done in the cattle country, near my ranch on the Little Missouri, and in the adjoining lands round the lower Powder and Yellowstone. Until 1881 the valley of the Little Missouri was fairly thronged with game, and was absolutely unchanged in any respect from its original condition of primeval wildness. With the incoming of the stockmen all this changed, and the game was wofully slaughtered; but plenty of deer and antelope, a few sheep and bear, and an occasional elk are still left.

I have never sought to make large bags, for a hunter should not be a game-butcher. It is always lawful to kill dangerous or noxious animals, like the bear, cougar, and wolf; but other game should only be shot when there is need of the meat, or for the sake of an unusually fine trophy. Killing a reasonable number of bulls, bucks, or rams does no harm whatever to the species; to slay half the males of any kind of game would not stop the natural increase, and they yield the best sport, and are the legitimate objects of the chase. From its very nature, the life of the hunter is in most places evanescent; and when it has vanished there can be no real substitute in old settled countries. Shooting in a private game-preserve is but a dismal parody; the manliest and healthiest features of the sport are lost with the change of the conditions. We need, in the interest of the community at large, a rigid system of game-laws rigidly enforced, and it is not only admissible, but one may almost say necessary, to establish, under the control of the State, great national forest reserves, which shall also be breeding-grounds and nurseries for wild game; though I should much regret to see grow up in this country a system of large private game-preserves kept for the enjoyment of the very rich.

THEODORE ROOSEVELT.

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WRITERS IN THE AUGUST FORUM.

MR. HORACE WHITE (*India's Action and the Sherman Law*) was born at Colebrook, N. H., in 1834. His family moved soon afterwards to Wisconsin, where he was graduated from Beloit College in 1853. He was connected for many years with the Chicago "Tribune," from 1864 to 1874 as its editor-in-chief. Since 1881 he has been a member of the editorial staff of the New York "Evening Post." He has long paid special attention to financial subjects.

MR. EDWARD OWEN LEECH (*The Doom of Silver*), born in Washington, D. C., was graduated from the National University of Washington, and entered the service of the Mint Bureau about 1873. He rose to the head of the Bureau, and in 1893 resigned to become cashier of the National Union Bank of New York. He is regarded as an authority on finance.

MR. RAFAEL H. WOLFF (*Danger in Hasty Tariff Revision*) was born and educated in Westphalia, where he received his first practical training as a manufacturer at his father's extensive wire and metal works. He came to the United States in 1870, and was employed as a machine-builder in Connecticut. In 1874, he removed to Peekskill, N. Y., and in 1882 to New York City, where he controls and operates one of the largest wire-mills in the United States.

MR. FRANK R. STOCKTON (*Mark Twain and His Recent Works*) was born in Philadelphia in 1834 and became an engraver and draughtsman. He subsequently joined the editorial staff of "Scribner's Monthly." His first successful stories were written for children, but he has since achieved a wide reputation as a novelist and humorist. His "Rudder Grange" stories include "The Lady or the Tiger?"

PROFESSOR ANGELO HEILPRIN (*Tasks Left for the Explorer*), born in Hungary in 1853, came to this country in 1856, but was educated in Europe. In 1880 he was appointed professor of invertebrate paleontology at the Philadelphia Academy of Natural Sciences and in 1885 became professor of geology at the Wagner Free Institute, Philadelphia. He is an authority on geography and exploration, and has published several books on scientific subjects; and in 1892 he commanded the Peary Relief Expedition to the Arctic regions.

MR. J. W. KELLER (*Journalism as a Career*), born in Kentucky in 1856, was educated at Yale, came to New York in 1879 and became a reporter for the daily press. He was subsequently editor of the "Dramatic News" and dramatic editor of the New York "Press," was also connected with the New York "World" and "Times," and is now managing editor of the New York "Recorder" and President of the New York Press Club.

MR. JOHN GILMER SPEED (*Do Newspapers Now Give the News?*), born in Kentucky in 1853, was educated as a civil engineer. In 1877 he became a writer for the "New York World," of which paper he was managing editor from 1879 to 1883. He was secretary of the American Exhibition in London from 1884 to 1887, and editor of the "American Magazine" in 1888 and 1889. He is the author of a "Life of Keats" and editor of "Keats's Letters and Poems."

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MR. CHARLES R. MILLER (*A Word to the Critics of Newspapers*) was born in New Hampshire and is a graduate of Dartmouth College. He was connected with the Springfield, Mass., "Republican," from 1872 to 1875, and in 1875 joined the staff of the "New York Times." He became editor-in-chief of the "Times" in 1883; organized a syndicate for the purchase of the paper in 1893, and is now editor-in-chief and president of the "Times" Publishing Company.

MR. FREDERIC HARRISON (*Art and Shoddy: A Reply to Criticisms*) was born in 1831 and in 1853 was elected fellow and tutor at Oxford. He is the chief exponent of the Positivist school, is a critic of authority and a master of English prose-style. Among his works are "The Meaning of History," "Social Statics," "Order and Progress," and "Oliver Cromwell." His critical papers in THE FORUM on art and literature have attracted wide attention.

DR. JOHN SHAW BILLINGS (*Municipal Sanitation in Washington and Baltimore*), born in Switzerland County, Ind., in 1838, was graduated from Miami University in 1857, and from the Ohio Medical College at Cincinnati in 1860. He became a surgeon in the United States Army, Medical Inspector for the Army of the Potomac, and subsequently Curator of the Army Medical Museum and Library in Washington, and Director of the Laboratory of Hygiene of the University of Pennsylvania. He was also in charge of the Division of Vital Statistics of the tenth and eleventh censuses.

PROFESSOR GEORG EBERS (*How My Character was Formed*), born in Berlin in 1837, became in 1870 a professor at Leipzig. In 1876, compulsory inaction due to a stroke of paralysis caused him to devote his attention to novel-writing. His novels representing Egyptian antiquity possess a distinct archæological value, and his purely scientific works are also highly esteemed. His best known novels are "Uarda" and "Homo Sum."

PROFESSOR EDWARD S. HOLDEN (*America's Achievements in Astronomy*), born in St. Louis in 1846, was graduated from the scientific school of Washington University in 1866 and from West Point in 1870. He served as an artillery lieutenant, professor of philosophy at West Point and instructor in engineering until 1873. He has since achieved distinction in connection with astronomical expeditions to England, the Caroline Islands and elsewhere. In 1881 he became professor of astronomy in the University of Wisconsin and in 1886 president of the University of California and director of the Lick observatory on Mount Hamilton, an office he still holds.

PROFESSOR JOHN J. MCCOOK (*A Tramp Census and Its Revelations*), born in Ohio in 1843, was graduated at Trinity College, Hartford, Conn. After serving as a volunteer in the Civil War, he studied law, medicine, and theology, entered the Episcopal ministry, and spent a year in foreign travel. For eleven years he has taught modern languages at Trinity, where he is still a professor. Since 1890 he has given much time to the study of pauperism, drunkenness, and crime.

MR. THEODORE ROOSEVELT (*Big Game Disappearing in the West*), born in New York in 1858, was graduated from Harvard in 1880. He attained prominence in the New York legislature in 1882 and 1883, was a candidate for mayor of New York in 1886, has been for several years a member of the Civil Service Commission, and has spent much time hunting and exploring in the West. His works include "History of the Naval War of 1812," "Hunting Trips of a Ranchman," and "Ranch Life and the Hunting Trail." The present article will form part of his forthcoming book, "The Wilderness Hunter, an Account of the Big Game of the United States and its Chase with Horse, Hound and Rifle," now in the press of Messrs. G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York.

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